The Perfect

Picture of a Favourite:

OR,

Secret Memoirs

OF

ROBERT DUDLEY, Earl of *Leiceſter*,

Prime MINISTER and FAVOURITE of

Queen ELIZABETH,

And Statdholder of *HOLLAND.*

CONTAINING

An Inſtructive Account of his *Riſe* and *Fall*; his exceſſive *Power* and *Wealth*; his cruel *Oppreſſions*; the exorbitant *Grants* made to him; his ambitious *Aim* at the Crown; his *Luſts*, *Hypocriſie*, and *Irreligion*; alſo his *Secret Combination* with the *Papiſts* and *Fanaticks*, to Undermine the Church of *England*, and Exclude the Royal Family.

Written during his Life, and now publiſh'd from an Old Manuſcript: With a PREFACE by *JAMES DRAKE*, Fellow of the *Royal Society* and *College of Phyſicians*.

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THE EPISTLE PREFATORY.

TO

R—— S—— Esq;

SIR,

ALL the Account that I can give of these *Memoirs*, I send you here is, That the following Sheets were written during the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Leicester* as appears from the tenour of the whole History, which concludes before his coming to be Governor of the *Low Countreys*, whither he was sent by Queen *Elizabeth*, as General of the Auxiliary Forces, which she sent to the Relief of the *Estates* of the *Confederate* Provinces. No higher Title did the Queen bestow upon him; but the *States* (as both *Grotius* and *Strada* inform us) knowing or believing his Power to be irresistible with Queen *Elizabeth*, and hoping by his means to draw

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her intirely into the War, reſolv'd to lay a ſufficient Bait for his Ambition, and to offer him that Sovereignty, with a Title ſomewhat lower than that which his Miſtreſs had refus'd, and made him *Supream Governor*, or *Stat-holder* of the *United Provinces*, with a Power much Superior to any that has been exercis'd by the ſucceeding *Stat-holders*.

This was the laſt Scene of his Ambition, in which how dexterouſly he acted his part, is hard to ſay. For our own *Hiſtorians* have reported little of his Tranſactions abroad, and *Grotius* and *Strada*, who have given the largeſt Accounts, are ſo manifeſtly partial and unjuſt, both to the *Queen*, and the whole *Engliſh* Nation, that we may reaſonably ſuſpect their Relations of him, whom his Country-men in his time more immediately fear'd and hated.

The Partiality of the firſt of theſe, ſprings manifeſtly from a deſire to cover the notorious Ingratitude of his Countrymen to Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *Engliſh* Nation, to whoſe generous and diſintereſted aſſiſtance, they entirely owe the Eſtabliſhment of their Liberty and Religion, and the Excuſſion of the *Spaniſh* Yoke. For this Reaſon, he not only gives a very unjuſt

unjuſt Character of the *Engliſh* in general, but wherever the courſe of his Hiſtory obliges him to Record their Actions, and to acknowledge the Obligations the *Dutch* had to them, he always mixes ſome oblique ſiniſter Inſinuation, which may either tarniſh the Glory of the Action, or at leaſt by loading it with ſome foul under-hand Deſign, may lighten the obligation thereby laid upon the *Dutch*.

The latter was an *Italian Jeſuit*, employ'd by, and in the Pay of *Spain*, and conſequently the *Engliſh*, upon a double ſcore, could expect no fair Repreſentation from him, who hated them both as *Hereticks* accounted, and as Enemies to *Spain*. But beſides the Diſadvantages the Earl of *Leiceſter* lies under with theſe two Hiſtorians, upon the ſcore of his Nation, they had each of them their particular piques to him: The firſt becauſe he exercis'd the invidious Power of a *Stat-holder*, to which *Grotius* never was a hearty Friend, and the latter, becauſe he was ſent in oppoſition to the Prince of *Parma*, whom in his Hiſtory he flatters immoderately, and to raiſe his Character (which was really great enough not to want ſuch Arts) de-

preſſes the Merits of all others. However, they both agree that he was Maſter of very great Vertues, or at leaſt ſeem'd to be. *Egregius virtutum ſimulator, & qui inviſos, atque infelices, Dudleiæ Gentis Spiritus haud ingratâ Comitate velaret*; *an exquiſite Hypocrite, that was able to cover the odious unhappy temper of the* Dudley *Family, with good Manners and Affability, ſays* Grotius. *Ver ſatilis viri ſolertia, qua erat Hiſtrio multarum partium, facile ad aliorum mores & vota factitium ingenium circumflectebat, He was, ſays* Strada, *ſuch an abſolute Maſter of his own Temper, that he could as he pleas'd, adapt it to any Man's Humour or Deſigns.* Agreeable to this *Mezeray* calls him *adroit & ruſé Courtiſan, a ſubtle dextrous Courtier*, all which argues him to have been a Man of great Abilities, tho' perhaps the uſe he made of them, contracted ſuch a general Hatred and Envy, as made People ſuppreſs his real Vertues, or impute them to Artifice and Deſign, which might however ſpring from a generous Diſpoſition.

What ever the Reaſon was, both *Grotius* and *Strada*, by the large elaborate Character, which each gives of him, prepare us for greater things, then they after-

afterwards recount of him, which gives us juſt ground to ſuſpect, that they have partially and invidiouſly ſuppreſt that part of his Adminiſtration of the *Low-Countrys*, which might tend moſt to the advantage of his Character. In this Conjecture we are confirm'd by our Obſervation, that both theſe Hiſtorians, after having deſcribed him ſuch both for Perſon and Parts, for Accompliſhments natural and acquir'd, as might juſtly raiſe great Expectations of him, are more ſollicitous to publiſh his Crimes done out of the Sphere of their Hiſtory, (which whether truly or falſly the Malice of his Country-men had furniſh'd them with) and to diſplay his Ambition, than to Regiſter any actions of his there, worthy the Character they give of him, or anſwering the expectations themſelves had rais'd in us.

However, it is on all hands agreed, that he was a Man of a very comly Perſon, a noble and graceful aſpect, an ingaging behaviour and courtly addreſs, and of a Wit capable at once of entertaining agreeably, and deſigning deeply, which together with a Delivery and Preſence, which had in 'em ſomething at once great and engaging, commanded at-

tention and reſpect. *Inerat vultui Sermoniqúe amœna quædam Majeſtas*, ſays *Grotius* of him, than which no one natural endowment fits a Man more for Popularity; and accordingly the ſame Hiſtorian informs us, *that at his firſt arrival he gain'd the Hearts both of the Nobility and People.* Yet all this ended in an abortive deſign upon the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*, in which it is more reaſonable to believe, that the bright Parts are invidiouſly ſuppreſt by the Relaters, than that there were not many ſhining ſtrokes of Politicks in ſo great a Deſign, laid and managed by ſo able a Head. That ſuch there were, his gaining the Clergy and People ſo intirely, is a ſufficient Argument, that both the Hiſtorians, more ſollicitous of Recording Events, (according to the vulgar Method of thoſe that write Hiſtory) have neglected the more inſtructive part, which is the means that he us'd in ſo great an attempt.

But 'tis probable, that neither the Power of the *Spaniard*, nor the Fickleneſs of the *Dutch* Nobility, who began to Cabal againſt him, were ſufficient to oblige him to abandon a Deſign, that flatter'd his Ambition ſo much, but that it was either his own fear of being ſupplanted

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in the favour of his Miſtreſs at home, or the Jealouſie, which thoſe that envied his Greatneſs, and fear'd that ſuch an acceſſion might eſtabliſh it, that occaſion'd his being recall'd. Such a Deſign was undoubtedly ſuitable to his vaſt Ambition; and could he have manag'd his Miſtreſs into a Conſent, the Succeſs had not been very doubtful. For as he had entirely won the Hearts of the Populace and Clergy; the Faction of the Nobility however reluctant, could not have withſtood the Force, which he might at pleaſure have pour'd in from *England*. It is therefore more than probable, that his Diſappointment came only from hence, and that Queen *Elizabeth* who would not ſuffer his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*, to accept the Crown of *Poland*, might likewiſe deny him a Sovereignty, which ſhe thought fit her ſelf to refuſe.

Several good Reaſons might be given, why ſhe wou'd not permit *Leiceſter* to take, that which ſhe her ſelf had declin'd to accept. Firſt, he could not have ſucceeded without her engaging heartily and intirely in his Support, which wou'd have brought *England* to have been Principal in that War, and conſequently have brought

brought it into the main expence, to avoid which ſhe had her ſelf refus'd the Sovereignty, and did again ſoon after. *Grotius*, who abounds in oblique inſinuations, to the Diſhonour of that Queen, and this Nation endeavours to fix a Suſpicion upon her, as if the attempts of *Leiceſter* were under-hand encourag'd by her, and undertaken for her, *Nec tamen quorundam effugit ſuſpiciones quaſi conſenſu Publico delatum honorem & recuſatum Plebis, ac Militum ſeditionibus debere mallet.* This is a plain ſpice of that malignity, which this Author manifeſts towards this Nation upon all occaſions. For had the Queen been ambitious of adding thoſe Provinces to her Dominions, they were twice offer'd her by ſolemn Embaſſy, and her Parliament (as himſelf confeſſes) had advis'd the acceptance, and promis'd Supplies to maintain it, And, conſidering the univerſal affection and inclination of the People of thoſe Provinces to ſubmit themſelves to her, it had been impoſſible for any of the Nobility, that ſhou'd have oppos'd her Deſign, to have withſtood the Rage of the People, back'd by ſuch Forces as ſhe had there, or might have ſent over.

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But perhaps, the Queen was as jealous of *Leiceſter*, and as willing to give a check to his Ambition, as they could be. He had aſpired to the Queen's Bed; and though the Sovereignty of thoſe Provinces might of it ſelf be a Bait ſufficient to tempt a Man of his Ambition. Yet perhaps it might be the more alluring to him, as it had been before to the Duke of *Alenſon*, as a probable ſtep to that Match, of which he had been ſo long ambitious. This the Queen, who, out of Jealouſie of dividing her Power and Authority, had rejected all the Matches, that had been offered her, was reſolv'd to prevent, and would not engage the Nation in a War upon the Score of a Subject, which ſhe had refus'd to do upon her own.

That *Leiceſter* did entertain ſuch hopes, not only the following Sheets, which carry manifeſt Tokens of being the oldeſt account of him, but all Hiſtorians, Domeſtick and Foreign agree, and that thoſe hopes drew him into at leaſt the Suſpicion of committing divers Crimes, wherewith he ſtands charg'd, not only in the following Sheets, but in moſt Hiſtorians, that have had occaſion to mention him, and might ſpeak of him without Fear, amongſt whom

whom I find ſuch Harmony with the following Papers, that it has mov'd me to doubt, whether they had not been ſeen by thoſe Hiſtorians, and whether thoſe Particulars, which they give of him, were not drawn from 'em. That theſe Papers were Written before he was made Governor of the *United Provinces*, may fairly be collected from their Silence on that Article, which was too plauſible a Topick for Accuſation to have been omitted by an Enemy, and ſuch this Writer ſeems to be. And that theſe were not Written for *Cloſet Memoirs*, appears by the Stile and Manner of them, and therefore it is not improbable, that though the Fear of his Power hindred them from appearing Publickly, that they might creep about privately in Manuſcript, and ſo reach even to Foreign Parts.

Theſe Memoirs charge the Earl of *Leiceſter* with divers Crimes, and in this Country, where ſuch things are not uſually practiſed, appear very horrid, and almoſt incredible, which nevertheleſs ſeem to have found Credit abroad, where the Practiſes of inordinate Ambition are better known; inſomuch that *Mezeray*, in that ſhort Account, which he gives of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, mentions particularly

larly two or three Facts recited in theſe Memoirs, and ſeems to point at others. He is here ſaid to have procur'd the Death of his *Wife*, and the Poiſoning of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and firſt to have attempted to Poiſon, and then to Aſſaſſinate Monſieur *Simier*, for diſcovering to the *Queen* his Marriage with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*. To the two firſt, he ſeems only to point indefinitely in the Character that he gives of him. *Leiceſter, homme de peu de nobleſſe, a ce qu'on luy reprochoit, & capable de tous crimes pour ſatisfaire ſon ambition & ſa paillardies, au reſt adroit & ruſe Courtiſan.* In which Character, by reproaching him with *Sticking at no Crime* to ſatisfie either his *Ambition* or *Luſt*, this Hiſtorian ſeems to point at his two principal Blemiſhes if he was really guilty. The *Murther* of his *Wife*, and of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the firſt Sacrific'd to his Ambition, to make way for his Pretenſions to the *Queen*, the latter to his Luſt. But in the particular of Monſieur *Simier*, the *French* Author agrees ſo exactly with theſe *Memoirs*, that but for the difference between 'em in the Perſons, whom they name as appointed to commit the Aſſaſſinate, the *Memoirs* naming one *Robin Tyder*, and *Mezeray* one

one *Fervaques*, I ſhould have thought he had taken the Story from hence. Both agree that *Simier* was Embaſſador from the Duke of *Alencon* to the *Queen*, ſent to Negotiate the Marriage between 'em, and that *Leiceſter* attempted, firſt to Poiſon him, and then to have him Aſſaſſinated, for having diſcovered to the *Queen* his Marriage to the Counteſs Dowager of *Eſſex*. One thing however muſt not be forgotten in juſtification of the Earl, tho' it may ſhake a little the Credit of theſe *Memoirs*, which is, that Cardinal *Chatillion*, who had Negotiated the like Affair before Monſieur *Simier* dying of Poiſon upon his Return at *Southampton*, as *Mezeray* ſays, at *Canterbury*, according to theſe *Memoirs*, which do (with an, *as it is thought*) endeavour to lay the Guilt of it upon the *Earl*, whereas *Mezeray*, who ſeems to have been not at all inclined to ſpare him, relates the Circumſtances of the *Cardinal*'s Death, and of the Execution and Confeſſion of his Servant afterwards at the Gallows in *France*, yet does not in the leaſt ſquint upon the *Earl*, as guilty of the Fact. On the other hand, it is not improbable, that the Death of the *Cardinal* was procur'd by Order of the Court of *France*, or at leaſt of the *Faction* of the *League*, for

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endeavouring to promote a Match between the King of *Navarr*, and the Queen of *England*, which the Court of *France*, and *that* Faction were as much concern'd to diſappoint, as the Earl of *Leiceſter* himſelf.

Upon the ſame Foot of Credit ſtands the Account of his intended Aſſaſſination of the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Poiſoning of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*; both which Facts are particularly told, eſpecially that of the Earl of *Ormond*, in which, not only the Occaſion and Manner of the Attempt are exactly deliver'd, and the Name and Reward of the deſign'd Aſſaſſin ſet down, and all is backt with an Appeal to the Earl of *Ormond* himſelf, then living, for the whole Truth of the Story. Yet ſince that Voucher is not now to be conſulted, and the Fact, tho' ſo conſiderable is not Regiſter'd by other Authors, it reſts upon the ſingle Credit of the Writer of theſe *Memoirs*, whoſe Name, we not knowing, are able to ſay no more of him, than that by the Bitterneſs of his Expreſſions, and the raking together ſo many foul Facts, we may be ſure, that he was an implacable Enemy of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, or at leaſt

leaſt a Retainer to ſome great Perſon that was. However, the Elegancy and Perſpicuity of his Stile for that time, the Strength of his Reaſoning, and the Depth of his Judgment, as well as the Solidity and Extent of his Reflections, which ſeem Prophetically to reach many Caſes, even in our Times; plainly ſhew him to have been a Perſon of great Abilities and Experience, as his Acquaintance with the Intriegues of great Men, and the Secret Affairs of State, but eſpecially ſuch a daring and dangerous Attempt upon the Favorite in the height of his Proſperity, from whom, conſidering the number of his Spies, he could not expect to be long conceal'd, argue him to have been a Man of Intereſt and Employment, as well as Courage, to whom ſuch things could be ſo minutely known, and who dar'd to utter 'em in ſuch a manner, at that time, when few People thought it ſafe ſo much as to whiſper any thing to the Diſadvantage of the Earl of *Leiceſter*.

The other Actions of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, put down in theſe *Memoirs*, may perhaps have been ſomewhat ſtrain'd, as 'tis probable they always will, when related

lated by a profeſſed Adverſary, which Conſideration apart, I ſee no great reaſon to queſtion the Truth of Facts laid down. For, as they are in the Main, no more than a Man can expect from a Perſon of his Character, ſo they only ſhew us to what an Exceſs of Preſumption and Extravagance, immoderate Ambition will riſe, when buoy'd up and ſupported by Exorbitant Favour, of which parallel Inſtances might be given from the Hiſtory and Obſervation of all Times and Nations.

That, which ſeems to me moſt ſtrange in all his Story, is, that he having offered ſo much Matter for Hiſtory ſhould nevertheleſs imploy ſo few Pages of it, and theſe almoſt all within one Year only of his Life, and that ſpent too in a Foreign Part, and beſt and moſt largely Written by Foreign Hiſtorians, who were ignorant (as appears by theſe *Memoirs*) of the moſt inſtructive part of his Life. The Miniſtry of *Wolſey*, *Cromwell* and other great Miniſters and Favourites make ſome Figure in our Hiſtory (tho' perhaps nothing like what they ought) but *Leiceſter*'s, whoſe Influence, Power and Authority exceeded 'em all, both in

Extent and Duration is paſt over in Silence, or ſlubber'd negligently o'er with a general Abſtract: 'That he was the 'Son of a Father, that loſt his Head 'for Treaſon, in which himſelf too 'was involved and condemned to die, 'but that he was pardoned by Queen '*Elizabeth*, and reſtored in Blood, ta-'ken into her Favour, made Maſter of 'Her Horſe, *Lord Denbigh* and *Earl* of '*Leiceſter*, that he was a Man of a beau-'tiful Perſon, a Noble Deportment, fine 'Addreſs, ingaging Converſation, rea-'dy Wit, great Cunning, and unbounded 'Ambition, that he was an Encourager 'of *Soldiers* and *Scholars*, was recom-'mended for a *Husband* to the *Queen* of '*Scots*, pretended to the *Queen* of *Eng-'land*, diſappointed all his Rivals, and 'broke all Matches propos'd, got to be '*Statholder* and *Captain General* of the '*United Provinces*, aim'd at the Sove-'reignty, was recall'd by the *Queen*, 'made *Captain General* of all Her *Land* '*Forces*, and died at laſt in full Poſſeſſion 'of Her Favour, without ever arriving 'at the Point, to which his Ambition 'tended, or ſuffering any one to arrive 'at it.

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This Summary Account, however ſhort and unſatisfactory, is to all Intents and Purpoſes, as full and ſufficient as our Hiſtories, or thoſe of other Countries afford, in which we find only a Character and Deſcription of his Perſon and Diſpoſition, with a jejune Relation of ſome of the Principal Events, in which he was concern'd, which amount to little more than a bare Enumeration, ſo that almoſt as good a Hiſtory of him might have been drawn upon Canvaſs.

The little notice that is taken of the Tranſactions of ſo great, ſo durable, and ſo abſolute a *Favorite*, in ſo proſperous and celebrated a Reign, is none of the leaſt Inſtances, how perfunctorily our Hiſtory is written, when one of the moſt ſurprizing parts of our Story is either ſo little underſtood, or ſo induſtriouſly ſuppreſt by the Writers of our own Country, and when all that we know of ſo great a Stateſman is what has been clandeſtinely tranſmitted to us.

It is ſtrange, that ſo many great and enormous Outrages of an irregular violent Ambition and Luſt, as well as the many Fineſſes, that he muſt have uſed to preſerve his Credit with a Princeſs, ſo

diſcerning and ſo jealous as Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhou'd eſcape the publick notice of Hiſtory, and that ſuch Acts of Power, ſo extraordinary, and ſo invidious in a Subject, as to provoke 'em to be ſo ſeverely reflected on in his own time, while the height of his Credit made it dangerous, to ſpeak the plain Truth of him, ſhou'd find no one Authentically to Record 'em, after his Death had made Truth ſecure, and Flattery unprofitable. Two or three Conjectural Reaſons might be offer'd for this Silence, which, if admitted, make for the Credit of theſe *Memoirs*; either that the Power of ſome Surviving Great Men, who were engaged with him, or rais'd by him, might laſt ſo long as to Awe Men till the Subject was Antiquated, and Men no longer curious, or inquiſitive about him; or that his Intereſt in the Learned Men of that Time, of whom he is ſaid to have been a Patron, prevailed with them to be ſilent, concerning a Benefactor, of whom Gratitude would not ſuffer 'em to ſpeak Ill nor Truth to ſpeak well. Or, laſtly, the great Reverence, which every Body bare to his

his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Memory.

However, after his Death, came out a Poem, called *Leiceſter*'s Ghoſt, which, not only avers all the Particulars, which are contain'd in theſe *Memoirs*, but recites divers other things which ſeem to have been Tranſacted by him, ſince the Writing of theſe Papers; and though that Poem pretends to a great deal of Fairneſs and Impartiality, and Cites theſe *Memoirs*, as an account of which all was not to be received, yet it is ſo far from proving any part to be untrue, that it does in a manner vouch every thing by the Repetition and feigned Confeſſion out of the Mouth of the Ghoſt; This ſeems a fair Proof, that this Piece, whether Written impartially or not, was the Genuine Product of theſe Times. That Poem appears to be Written not long after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and to Comprize this Hiſtory, to which the Poet affects the Character of Impartial, as appears by the following Lines.

I am not Partial, but give him his (due,
And to his Soul I wiſh Eternal Health:

Nor do I think all Written Tales are (true
That are inſerted in his Common- (wealth:
What others Wrote before, I do ſurvive,
But am not like to thoſe incens'd with (Hate,
And I as plainly Write, ſo do I ſtrive
To Write the Truth, not wronging his (Eſtate,
Of whom it may be ſaid, and cenſur'd (well,
He both in Vice and Virtue did excel.

If the Poet's Character of himſelf, and his own Sincerity be true, there cannot be a greater Juſtification of theſe *Memoirs*, notwithſtanding he does not believe all things inſerted in 'em be true. For if he did believe all to be true, that he has thought fit to repeat, there is not a material Circumſtance of any Moment in 'em, which he does not vouch.

That the Author of theſe Verſes was alive in the time of *Leiceſter*, may be argued, not only from the old Stile and Manner, but by that Phraſe in the Verſes here cited; *I do ſurvive*, which implys

plys Out-living, a Term not uſed by, or of, *Cotemporaries.*

From hence we may gather how lamely or partially the Hiſtory of theſe Times have been Written, and may ſafely conclude, that with proper Grains of Allowance, theſe *Memoirs*, by whomſoever Written, are no contemptible Piece of Hiſtory, ſince they give us light into ſuch remarkable Tranſactions, concerning which we had been abſolutely in the dark without 'em.

There is an old *Engliſh* Book, Written about the time, that theſe *Memoirs* ſeem to have been, which now paſſes through the Hands of old Women and Children only, and is taken for a pleaſant delightful Tale, but is by wiſer Heads thought to be an Enigmatical Hiſtory of the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Family, which he that compares with theſe *Memoirs*, will not take to be an idle Conjecture, there are ſo many Paſſages ſo eaſily illuſtrable, by comparing it with theſe *Memoirs*. The Book, I mean, is the *Hiſtory* of *Reynard* the *Fox*, in which the Author, not daring to Write his Hiſtory plainly, probably, for fear of his Power, has ſhadowed his Exploits un-

der the feigned Adventures and Intrigues of Brutes, in which, not only the Violence and Rapaciouſneſs, but eſpecially the Craft and Diſſimulation of the Earl of *Leiceſter* is excellently ſet forth.

If he was guilty of half what theſe *Memoirs* charge him with, or even of what Foreign Hiſtories mention, he muſt have been Maſter of greater Cunning than any Miniſter, that this Nation has ever produced, either before or ſince him, not only to have defended himſelf, but to have maintained his Power and Greatneſs to the laſt, under ſuch an Accumulation of exceſſive Guilt and Envy.

The exorbitant Credit and Power which this Favourite had arrived to by Queen *Elizabeth*, had been ſufficient to have overthrown and ruined at any time any Man of leſs ability to manage it than he, and his Inſolence alone would have drawn upon him ſuch a powerful weight of Diſguſt, as would have cruſhed any other Perſon. He had at one time ſo intirely Engroſſed the *Queen* to himſelf, that ſcarce any body had Acceſs to Her, none received any Favours from Her, but through his Means. Her Domeſticks,

Her

Her Council, and generally almoſt all Her Officers were his Creatures, and of his raiſing, and whoever had the Courage to oppoſe or thwart his Deſigns, rarely eſcaped his Revenge, of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Suſſex*, two of our greateſt Noblemen were mighty Inſtances. On this Succeſs of Favour, he ſurfeited, even to Riot; ſo that as *Mezeray* reports, that he uſed to make it his Boaſt among his Friends, *that like an other* Vulcan, *he had taken the* Queen *in Toils unſeen, and would keep her in a ſure, though inviſible Priſon.* This muſt be meant of the Guard of his own Creatures, Spies and Dependants which he had planted about Her, by whom he hoped to manage her as he pleaſed, an Attempt, however it ſucceeded with him, has been fatal to almoſt all that have ever attempted it before or ſince, either in this, or any other Country, and can ſcarce be juſtified in any Perſon to Prudence, who has no deſign to uſurp the Sovereignty, and to fix it in himſelf or his Family. But it appears, that the Father of this Man attempted to bring the Crown into his Family, by the Match which he made between the

Lady

Lady *Jane Gray* and his Eldeſt Son the Lord *Guilford*, and then endeavouring to ſet her Title up againſt that of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*, which Attempt coſt that Lady (otherwiſe very much to be bewailed) himſelf and his Son their Heads upon a Scaffold. Theſe *Memoirs* accuſe his Son of the ſame Deſign, tho' Providence did not ſuffer his Plot to ripen ſo far as his Fathers. Yet it ſhews that Ambition (which would not ſuffer him to take warning by the narrow eſcape he had from his Father's Fate) was his predominate Paſſion, and that he ſtill drove on to the ſame End, tho' as he does not appear to have been ſo brave, ſo he managed with more Caution, which perhaps was his Security.

His Ambition however hurried him on to thoſe things (not including the Blood wherewith he is charged, nor his double Marriage with the Lady *Sheffeild* and the Lady *Eſſex*, by the former of which his Deſcendants are yet alive) which have generally been fatal to Preſumptuous Favourites.

Many

Many Inſtances might be produced of Favourites, who without being chargable with any great Crime, have been ruined by their own Inſolence and Preſumption only. *Peircy Gaveſton*, the two *Spencers*, and even Cardinal *Woolſey* himſelf, are inſtances in our Hiſtory, not to mention any latter.

But *Monſieur Le Vaſſor*, in his excellent Hiſtory of *Lewis* the 13th of *France*, has given us ſuch a perfect inſtance of the danger of preſuming ſo far upon favour in the Story of the *Mareſhal D' Ancre* and his Lady, that ſcarce a more compleat Example can be ſet before our Eyes of the Inſufficience of Favour, when invidious Power is inſolently uſed, and thereby Enemies great, numerous and hearty, are provoked to humble it.

Thoſe that can read the Original, will find there a Story, as inſtructive, and as handſomly told, as any in modern Hiſtory, and Reflections as juſt thereupon. He obſerves, that want of Moderation in Proſperity, and Preſuming too far upon the Favour of *Mary de Medicis*, Queen Regent of *France*, was the occaſion of their Ruin, as that Favour had been of their Riſe.

Con-

Conchini, having married a Lady of the Bed-chamber to *Mary de Medicis*, who was her Favourite and Confident, was, through the Intereſt of his Wife rais'd to the degree of *Mareſchal* of *France*, and thence by means of his Wife, who had an abſolute aſcendant over the Spirit of the Queen, to be prime Miniſter, and to diſpoſe of all the Governments and great Places (of which that Court had abundance) to gain Creatures to himſelf, and to draw off from others ſuch uſeful Inſtruments as Preferment could gain. This drew upon him the Envy and Hatred of the Princes of the Blood, and other great Men, who had in Indignation, the exceſſive Inſolence of a Man ſo ſuddenly and ſo highly raiſed, and made them joyn againſt him, even to the uniting of thoſe, who in every thing elſe they had ſeparate Views of. They had in vain tryed to abate his Power with the Queen Regent, but that proving unſucceſsful, the attempt only raiſed his Preſumption, and made him contemn his Adverſaries; and being irritated with their oppoſition to work the Queen up to ſuch a pitch of Reſentment, as to arreſt the Prince of

Conde,

Conde, the firſt Prince of the Blood, and whoſe oppoſition he moſt apprehended, and to clap him into the *Baſtile*; which ſtroke (as he thought) of Security, contributed perhaps moſt to his Ruin. For tho' they who procured it were not of that Prince's Party; yet ſuch an extraordinary act of Power rendred them ſo fearful of him, that they thought themſelves not ſafe, till they had diſpatched him. This was done by Methods ſo extraordinary and unjuſtifiable, that had the Cauſe been ſufficient to have warranted the ſeeking of his Deſtruction, the means cou'd never have been defended before an impartial Judge. For not content by Aſſaſſination to have taken off the *Mareſchal*, they formed a Proceſs againſt his Lady, and having brought her to Tryal and Sentence, with all poſſible Circumſtances of Ignominy, (an Aggravation of her Affliction) at laſt took off her Head, burnt her Body, and ſcattered her Aſhes in the Air. The Hiſtorian at the foot of all this account finds nothing real to charge either of them with, but Avarice and Inſolence, all the reſt of the Accuſation, on which their Proceſs was form'd, being manifeſtly either forg'd or trifling,

ſo that it appears plainly, that unpopular Greatneſs and Inſolence brought them to an end, which they had not for any attempt againſt the State deſerved. The Hiſtorian diſcharges them from any ſuch Guilt, and thinks that their diſplacing great Men ſo freely, to make room for their own Creatures and Dependants was their crime, upon which he makes the following Remarks. *Si 'ceſt La un crime d' Etat, il faut couper deſormais la tete a tous les Favoris, a tous les Miniſtres, a tous ceux qui ont du Credit, a la Cour, C' eſt un eſtrange deſordre a la Verité, que des Gens Eloignent ou privent des Emplois par des Intrigues, et ſouvent par des noires Calomnies ceux qui ſervent, on qui pouroient ſervir utilement la Patrie: Mais comment l' empecherez v'ous?*

This is an unſucceſsful unfortunate Inſtance of that which the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s great dexterity carried him triumphantly through.

But whether his Fortune be more inviting than the miſcarriages of ſo many others (under leſs obnoxious Circumſtances) are forbidding, is a matter of ſo nice Speculation, that Fear or Ambition will probably over-rule the Conſideration in thoſe,

thoſe, that may at any time be laid by Fortune, under the like Temptation. However, theſe Papers ſupply a great Chaſm in our Hiſtory, and for that they are recommended to your Reading, who have your Liberty to believe of the Fact, as you are convinc'd. The reſt of his Hiſtory is not worth extracting, and it is time to ask your Pardon for

Your Humble Servant,

J. D.

Juſt Publiſh'd.

THE Memoirs of that Great Favourite, Cardinal *Woolſey*; with Remarks on his Riſe and Fall; and other Secret Tranſactions of his Miniſtry in Church and State. Together with a Memorial preſented to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, then Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, to prevent Her Majeſty's being Engroſſed by any particular Favourite.

In few days will be Publiſh'd a third Edition of

THE Sourſe of our Preſent Fears diſcover'd; or, Plain Proof of ſome late Deſigns againſt our Preſent Conſtitution and Government. Containing *Remarks* on ſome Dangerous Libels and Pamphlets, Publiſhed of late. Written by the Author of the Hiſtory of the late Parliament, Price 1*s*. To which is added by a Friend of the *Author*'s, a word to the Wiſe, with Dr. *Stanhope* Dean of *Canterbury*'s Remarks upon the word *Moderation*, taken from his *Sermon* preach'd before the *Convocation*, on *Thurſday* the 25*th* of *October*, 1705.

Juſt Publiſh'd.

THE Secret Hiſtory of the *Calves Head Club*, Compleat; or the *Republican* unmask'd. Wherein is fully ſhewn, the Religion of the *Calves-Head* Heroes, in their Anniverſary Thankſgiving-Songs on the Thirtieth of *January*, by them called *Anthems*; for the Years 1693. 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, *&c.* with Reflections thereupon. Now Publiſhed to demonſtrate the reſtleſs, implacable Spirit of a certain Party ſtill among us, who are never to be ſatisfied 'till the preſent Eſtabliſhment in Church and State is ſubverted. The fifth Edition, with large Additions, Corrected. To which is annext, a Vindication of the Royal Martyr K. *Charles* I. Wherein are laid open, the *Republicans* Myſteries of Rebellion. Written in the Time of the Uſurpation, by the Celebrated Mr. *Buttler*, Author of *Hudibras*. With a Character of a *Presbyterian*; written by Sir *John Denham*, Knight.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE Conference.

NOT *long before last* Christmas, I *was requested by a Letter from a very Worshipful, Grave Gentleman (whose Son was my Pupil in* Cambridge*) to repair with my said Scholar to a certain House of his near* London, *and there to pass over the Holy-days in his Company, for that it was determined that in* Hillary *Term following his said Son should be placed in some* Inn *of* Chancery, *to follow the Study of the* Common Law, *and so to leave the* University. *This Request was grateful unto me, both in respect of the Time, and also of the Matter, but especially of the Company: For that as I love the young Gentleman my Pupil much for his Towardness in Religion, Learning*

and Vertue, ſo much more do I Reverence his Father, for the riper Poſſeſſion of the ſame Ornaments, and for his great Wiſdom, Experience and Grave Judgment in the Affairs of the World that do occur, but namely, touching our own Country, wherein truly I do not remember to have heard any Man in my life diſcoure more Subſtantially, indifferently, and with leſs Paſſion, more Love and Fidelity than I have heard him: Which was the cauſe that I took ſingular delight to be in his Company, and refuſed no occaſion to enjoy the ſame; which alſo he perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with me, than with many other of his Friends as by the Relation following may well appear. When I came to the aforeſaid Houſe by London, *I found there among other Friends an ancient Man that profeſſed the* Law, *and was come from* London *to keep his* Chriſtmas *in that Place, with whom at divers former times I had been well acquainted, for that he had haunted much the Company of the ſaid Gentleman my Friend,*

and

and was much truſted and uſed by him in Matters of his Profeſſion, and not a little beloved alſo for his good Converſation, notwithſtanding ſome difference in Religion alſo between us. For albeit this Lawyer *was inclined to be a* Papiſt, *yet was it with ſuch Moderation and Reſervation of his Duty towards his Prince, Country and Proceedings of the ſame, as he ſeemed always to give full Satisfaction in this Point to us that were of a contrary Opinion: Neither did he let to proteſt oftentimes with great Affection, that as he had many Friends and Kinsfolks of contrary Religion to himſelf, yet did he love them never the leſs for their different Conſciences, but leaving it to God, was deſirous to do them any Service or Friendſhip he could, with all Affection, Zeal and Fidelity. Neither was he wilful or obſtinate in his Opinion, and much leſs reproachful in Speech (as many of them be) but was content to hear whatſoever we ſhould ſay to the contrary (as often we did) and to read any Book alſo that we delivered*

him for his Inſtruction, which Temperate Behaviour induced this Gentleman and me to affect the more his Company, and to diſcourſe as freely with him in all Occurrences, as if he had been of our own Religion.

Secret

Secret Memoirs

OF

Robert Dudley,

Earl of *Leiceſter*,

Prime Miniſter and Favourite

OF

Queen *Elizabeth.*

ONE Day then of the *Chriſtmas*, we three retiring our ſelves after Dinner into a long Gallery for our Recreation (as often as we were accuſtomed to do, when others went to Cards, and other Paſtimes) this *Lawyer* by chance had in his hand a little Book then newly ſet forth, containing, *A Defence of the Publick Juſtice done of late in* England *upon divers* Prieſts *and other* Papiſts *for Treaſon.* Which Book the *Lawyer* had read to himſelf a little before, and was now putting it up in his Pocket: But the Gentleman, my Friend, who had read over the

The Book of Juſtice.

ſame once or twice before in my Company, would needs take the ſame into his hands again, and asked the *Lawyer* his Judgment upon the Book.

The *Lawyer* anſwered, that it was not ill Penned in his Opinion, to prove the guiltineſs of ſome Perſons therein named in particular, as alſo to perſwade in general, That the Papiſts, both abroad and at home, who meddle ſo earneſtly with Defence and Increaſe of their Religion, do conſequently wiſh and labour ſome Change in the Eſtate; but yet whether ſo far forth, and in ſo deep a degree of proper Treaſon, as here in this Book, both in general and in Particular is preſumed and inforced, that (*quoth he*) is ſomewhat hard I ween for you or me (in reſpect of ſome other difference betwixt us) to judge or diſcern with indifferency.

Nay, truly (ſaid the Gentleman) for my part I think not ſo; for that Treaſon is Treaſon in what Religion ſoever, and for my ſelf, I proteſt that I bear the honeſt Papiſt (if there be any) no Malice for his deceived Conſcience, whereof among others, your ſelf can be a Witneſs; marry his Practices againſt the State I cannot in any wiſe digeſt; and much leſs may the Common-wealth bear the ſame whereof we all depend, being a Sin of all other the moſt heinous, and leaſt pardonable: And therefore ſeeing in this you grant the *Papiſt* both in general abroad and at home, and in particular ſuch as are Condemned, Executed, and named in this Book to be guilty, how can you inſinuate as you do, that

that there is more presumed and inforced upon them by this Book, than there is just cause to do.

Good Sir (said the *Lawyer*) I stand not here to examin the Deeds of my Superiors, or to defend the Guilty, but wish heartily rather their Punishment that have deserved the same. Only this I say for the Explanation of my former Speech, that Men of a different Religion from the State wherein they live, may be said to deal against the State in two sorts: The one by dealing for the Increase of their said different Religion, which is always either directly or indirectly against the State: Directly, when the said Religion containeth any Point or Article directly impugning the said State, as perhaps you will say, that the *Roman* Religion doth against the State now present in *England* in the Point of *Supremacy*. And indirectly, for every different Religion divideth in a sort, and draweth from the State: In that there is no Man, who in his heart would not wish to have the chief Governor and State to be of his Religion if he could, and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that: And in this kind, not only those whom you call *Busie Papists* in *England*, but also those whom we call *Hot Puritans* among you (whose difference from the State, especially in Matters of Government is very well known) may be called all Traytors in my Opinion: For that every one of these indeed do labour indirectly (if not more) against the State, in how much soever each one endeavoureth to in-

Two sorts of Dealings against the State.

Direct.

Indirct.

creaſe his *Party* or *Faction*, that deſireth a *Governor* of his own *Religion*.

The Eſtates of Subjects in a State of different Religion.

As in this Caſe alſo are the *Proteſtants* in *France* and *Flanders* under *Catholick* Princes and *Calviniſts* (as they are called) under the Duke of *Saxony*, who is a *Lutheran*, the *Lutherans* under *Caſimire* that favoureth the *Calviniſts*; the *Grecians* and other *Chriſtians* under the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, under the *Sophy*, under the great *Cham* of *Tartary*, and other Princes that agree not with them in Religion. All which Subjects do wiſh (no doubt) in their Hearts, that they had a Prince and State of their own Religion inſtead of him which now governeth them, and conſequently in this firſt Senſe, they may be called all Traytors, and every Act they do for Advancement of their ſaid different Religion (dividing between the State and them) tendeth to Treaſon, which their Princes ſuppoſing, do ſometimes make divers of their Acts Treaſonable, or Puniſhable for Treaſon: But yet as long as they break not forth into the ſecond kind of Treaſon, which containeth ſome actual Attempt, or Treaty againſt the Life of the Prince or the State by Rebellion, or otherwiſe, we do not properly condemn them for Traytors, though they do ſome Acts of their Religion, made Treaſon by the Princes Laws, who is of a different Faith.

And ſo to apply this to my purpoſe, I think, Sir, in good ſooth, that in the firſt kind of Treaſon, as well the *Zealous Papiſts*, as alſo the *Hot Puritans* in *England* may well be

be called and proved Traytors: But in the ſecond ſort (whereof we ſpeak properly at this time) it cannot be ſo preciſely anſwered, for that there may be both guilty, and guiltleſs in each Religion; and as I cannot excuſe *all Puritans* in this Point, ſo you cannot condemn *all Papiſts*, as long as you take me and ſome others to be as we are.

I grant your Diſtinctions of Treaſon to be true (ſaid the Gentleman) as alſo your Application thereof to the *Papiſts* and *Puritans*, (as you call them) not to want Reaſon, if there be any of them that miſlike the preſent State, as perhaps there be. Although for my part I do think theſe two kinds of Treaſons which you have put down to be rather divers Degrees than divers kinds, wherein I will refer me to the Judgment of our *Cambridge* Friend here preſent; whoſe Skill is more in Logical Diſtinctions: But yet my Reaſon is this, that indeed the one is but a ſtep or degree unto the other, not differing in Nature, but rather in Time, Ability and Opportunity, For if (as in the former Examples you have ſhewed) the *Grecians* under the *Turk*, and other *Chriſtians* under Princes of a different Religion; and as alſo the *Papiſts* and *Puritans* (as you term them) in *England*, (for this word ſhall paſs between us for diſtinction ſake) have ſuch Alienation of Mind for their preſent Regiment, and do covet ſo much a Governor and State of their own Religion, then no doubt they are alſo reſolved to imploy their Forces for accompliſhing and bringing about their Deſires, if they had opportu-

portunity; and ſo being now in the firſt Degree or Kind of Treaſon, do want but Occaſion or Ability to break into the ſecond.

True, Sir (ſaid the *Lawyer*) if there be no other Cauſe nor Circumſtance that may with-hold them.

☞ And what Cauſe or Circumſtance, I pray you (ſaid the Gentleman) may keep them, when they ſhall have Ability and Opportunity to do a thing which they ſo much deſire. Divers Cauſes (quoth the *Lawyer*) but eſpecially, and above all other (if it be at home in their own Country) the fear of Servitude under Foreign Nations may reſtrain them from ſuch Attempts as we ſee in *Germany*, that both the *Catholicks* and the *Proteſtants* would joyn together againſt any Stranger that ſhould offer Danger to their Liberty; and ſo they did againſt *Charles* the 5*th*. And in *France*, not long ago, albeit, the Proteſtants were up in Arms againſt their King, and could have been content by the help of us in *England* to have put him down, and placed another of their own Religion: Yet when they ſaw us once ſeized of *New-heaven*, and ſo like to proceed to the Recovery of ſome part of our States on that ſide the Sea, they quickly joined with their own *Catholicks* again to expel us.

Fear of Foreign Oppreſſion, maketh Peace at Home.

In *Flanders* likewiſe though *Monſieur* were called thither by the *Proteſtants*, eſpecially for the Defence of their Religion againſt the *Spaniards*: Yet we ſee how dainty divers great and chief *Proteſtants* of *Antwerp*, *Gaunt* and

and *Bruges*, were so soon as they put them in the least Fear of Subjection to the *French*.

And as for *Portugal*, I have heard some of the chiefest *Catholicks* amongst them say in this last Contention about their Kingdom, that rather than they would suffer the *Castillian* to come in upon them, they would be content to admit whatsoever Aids of a contrary Religion to themselves, or to adventure whatsoever Alteration in Religion, or other Inconvenience might befal them by that means, rather than Indanger their Subjection to their Ambitious Neighbour.

The like is reported in divers Histories of the *Grecians* at this day, who do hate so much the Name and Dominion of the *Latins*, as they had rather to endure all the Miseries which daily they suffer under the *Turk* for their Religion, then by calling for Aid from the *West* to hazard their Subjection to the said *Latins*. So that you see by these Examples, that Fear and Horror of External Subjection, may stay Men in all States, and consequently, both *Papists* and *Puritans* in the State of *England*, from passing to the second kind or degree of Treason, albeit, they were never so deep in the first, and had both Ability, Time, Will and Opportunity for the other.

The old Hatred of the East Grecians *to the* West Latins.

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said, that this seemed unto me most clear, and that now I understood what the *Lawyer* meant before, when he affirmed, that albeit, the most part of *Papists* in general might be said to deal against the *State* of *England* at this day, in that they deal so earnestly for the

the Maintenance and Increaſe of their Religion, and ſo to incur ſome kind of Treaſon, yet perhaps not ſo far forth, nor in ſo deep a degree of proper Treaſon, as in this Book is preſumed or inforced, though for my part, (ſaid I) I do not ſee that the Book preſumeth or inforceth all *Papiſts* in general to be properly Traytors, but only ſuch as in particular are therein named, or that are by Law Attainted, Condemned or Excluded; and what will you ſay to thoſe in particular (quoth I.)

Surely (anſwered the *Lawyer*) I muſt ſay of thoſe much after the manner which I ſpake before, that ſome here named in this Book are openly known to have been in the ſecond degree or kind of Treaſon, as *Weſtmerland*, *Norton*, *Saunders*, and the like: But divers others (namely, that *Prieſts* and *Seminaries*, which of late have ſuffered) by ſo much as I could ſee delivered and pleaded at their Arraignments, or heard proteſted by them at their Deaths, or gather by Reaſon, or Diſcourſe by my ſelf (for that no Foreign Prince, or Wiſe Counſellor would ever commit ſo great Matters of State to ſuch Inſtruments.) I cannot, I ſay, but think, that to the Wiſe of our State that had the doing of this Buſineſs, the firſt Degree of Treaſon (wherein, no doubt they were) was ſufficient to diſpatch and make them away, eſpecially in ſuch ſuſpicious Times as theſe are, and to the end that being hanged for the firſt they ſhould never be in danger to fall into the ſecond, nor to draw other Men to the ſame, which perhaps was moſt of all miſdoubted.

After

After the *Lawyer* had ſpoken this, I held my Peace to hear what the Gentleman would anſwer, who walked up and down two whole turns in the Gallery without yielding any word again, and then ſtaying, upon the ſuddain caſt his Eyes ſadly upon us both, and ſaid.

My Maſters, whoſoever this be, which indeed appertaineth not unto us to diſcover or judge of, but rather to perſwade our ſelves, that the State hath reaſon to do as it doth, and that it muſt oftentimes as well prevent Inconveniencies as remedy the ſame, when they are happened: Yet for my part, I muſt confeſs unto you, that upon ſome Conſiderations which uſe to come unto my mind, I take no ſmall Grief of the Differences amongſt us (which you term divers and different Religions) for which we are driven of neceſſity to uſe Diſcipline towards divers, who poſſibly otherwiſe would be no great Malefactors. I know the cauſe of this Difference is grounded upon a Principle not too eaſie to cure, which is the Judgment and Conſcience of a Man, whereunto obeyeth at length his Will and Affection, howſoever he may for a time otherwiſe diſſemble outwardly: I remember your Speech before of the doubtful and dangerous Inclination of thoſe who live diſcontented in a State of a different Religion eſpecially, when either indeed, or in their own Conceits, they are hardly dealt withal, and where every Man's particular Puniſhment is taken to reach to the Cauſe of the whole.

I am

I am not ignorant how that Misery procureth Amity, and the Opinion of Calamity moveth Affection of Mercy and Compassion, even towards the Wicked. The better Fortune is always subject to Envy, and he that suffereth is thought to have the better Cause. My Experience of the divers Reigns and Proceedings of King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, and of this our most Gracious Sovereign hath taught me not a little touching the Sequel of these Affairs. And finally, my good Friends, I must tell you plain (quoth he, and this he speak with great Asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either those Differences were not amongst us at all, or else that they were so temperately on all Parts pursued, as the Common State of our Country, the Blessed Reign of Her Majesty, and the Common Cause of true Religion, were not indangered thereby: But now —— and there he brake off and turn'd aside.

The *Lawyer* seeing him hold his Peace and departed, he stepped after him, and taking him by the Gown, said merrily, Sir, all Men are not of your Complexion, some are of more quick and stirring Spirits, and do love to Fish in Water that is troubled, for that they do participate the Black-moors Humour that dwells in *Guinea*; whereof I suppose you have heard and seen in this Land, whose Exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch and seek; the other, and always the stronger to make Money of the weaker for the time. But now if in *England* we should live in Peace and Unity of the State as they

they do in *Germany*, notwithſtanding theſe Differences of Religion, and that the one ſhould not prey upon the other, then ſhould the great Faulcons for the Field (I mean the Favourites of the Time) fail whereon to feed, which were an Inconvenience as you know.

Truly, Sir, ſaid the Gentleman I think you rove nearer the Mark than you are aware. For if I be not deceived the very ground of much of theſe Broils whereof we talk is but a very Prey, not in the Mind of the Prince or State, whoſe Intentions, no doubt be moſt juſt and holy, but in the greedy imagination, or ſubtil Conceit of him, who at this preſent, in reſpect of our Sins, is permitted by God to tyranniſe both Prince and State; and being himſelf of no Religion, feedeth notwithſtanding upon our Differences in Religion, to the fatting of himſelf, and the Ruin of the Realm. For whereas by the common Diſtinction now received in Speech, there are *three* notable Differences of Religion in the Land, the *two Extreams* whereof are the *Papiſts* and the *Puritan*, and the Religious *Proteſtant* obtaining the Mean, this Fellow being of neither, maketh his Gain of all: And as he ſeeketh a Kingdom by the one Extream, and Spoil by the other, ſo he uſeth the Authority of the third, to compaſs the firſt two, and the Countermine of each to the Overthrow of all three.

To this I anſwered, in good ſooth, Sir, I ſee now where you are, you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary Talk and Con-

Conference in the *Univerſity*. For I know that you mean my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who is the Subject of all pleaſant Diſcourſes at this Day throughout the Realm.

Not ſo pleaſant as pitiful (anſwered the Gentleman) if all Matters and Circumſtances were well conſidered, except any Man take pleaſure to jeſt at our own Miſeries, which are like to be greater by his Iniquity (if God avert it not) than be all the Wickedneſs of *England* beſides, he being the Man that by all Probability is like to be the Bane and fatal Deſtiny of our State, with the Averſion of true Religion; whereof by indirect Means he is the greateſt Enemy that the Land doth nouriſh.

Now, verily (quoth the *Lawyer*) if you ſay thus much for the *Proteſtants* Opinion of him, what ſhall I ſay for his Merits towards the *Papiſts*: Who for as much as I can perceive do take themſelves little beholding unto him, albeit for his Gain he was ſome Years their ſecret Friend againſt you, until by his Friends he was perſwaded (and chiefly by the Lord *North* by way of Policy, as the ſaid Lord boaſteth in hope of greater Gain) to ſtep over to the *Puritans* againſt us both, whom, notwithſtanding it is probable, that he loveth as much as he doth the reſt.

You know the Bear's Love (ſaid the Gentleman) which is all for his own Paunch, and this Bear-whelp turneth all to his own Commodity, and for greedineſs thereof will overturn all if he be not ſtopped or muzled in time.

And

And ſurely unto me it is a ſtrange Speculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reaſon (but only that I do attribute it unto the juſt Puniſhment of God for our Sins) that in ſo Wiſe and Vigilant a State as ours is, and in a Country ſo well acquainted, and beaten with ſuch Dangers, a Man of ſuch a Spirit as he is known to be, of ſo extream Ambition, Pride, Falſhood and Treachery, ſo born, ſo bred up, ſo nuſled in Treaſons from his Infancy, deſcending of a Tribe of Traitors, and Fleſhed in Conſpiracies againſt the Royal Blood of King *Henry*'s Children in his tender Years, and exerciſed ever ſince in Drifts the ſame, by the Blood and Ruin of divers others, a Man ſo well known to bear Secret Malice againſt Her Majeſty, for Cauſes Irreconcileable, and moſt deadly Cancor againſt the beſt and wiſeſt Counſellors of her Highneſs: That ſuch a one, I ſay, ſo hateful to God and Man, and ſo remarkable to the ſimpleſt Subjects of this Land by the Publick Enſigns of his Traiterous Purpoſe, ſhould be ſuffered ſo many Years without Check to aſpire to Tyranny by moſt manifeſt Ways, and to poſſeſs himſelf (as now he hath done) of Court, Counſel and Country without Controulment, ſo that nothing wanteth to him but only his Pleaſure, the Day already conceived in his Mind to diſpoſe as he liſt, both of Prince, Crown, Realm and Religion.

It is much truly (quoth I) that you ſay, and it miniſtreth not a little Mervail unto many, whereof your Worſhip is not the firſt, nor the tenth Perſon of Account, which I

☞ have heard diſcourſe and complain: But what ſhall we ſay hereunto; there is no Man, that aſcribes not this unto the ſingular Benignity and moſt Bountiful Nature of Her Majeſty, who meaſuring other Men by her own Heroical and Prince-like Sincerity, cannot eaſily ſuſpect a Man ſo much bounden unto Her Grace as he is, nor remove Her Confidence from the Place where She heaped ſo infinite Benefits.

No doubt (ſaid the Gentleman) but this Gracious and Sweet Diſpoſition of Her Majeſty is the true Original Cauſe thereof: Which Princely Diſpoſition, as in Her Highneſs it deſerveth all rare Commendations, ſo lieth the ſame open to many Dangers oftentimes, when ſo benign a Nature meeteth with Ingrate and Ambitious Perſons: Which Obſervation perhaps moved Her Majeſties Moſt Noble Grandfather and Father (two Renowned Wiſe Princes) to withdraw ſometimes upon the ſuddain their great Favour from certain Subjects of high Eſtate. And her Majeſty may uſe her own moſt Excellent Wiſdom and Memory, and call to mind the manifold Examples, and perilous Haps fallen to divers Princes by too much Confidence in obliged Proditors with whom the name of a Kingdom weigheth more than all the Duty, Obligation, Honeſty or Nature in the World. Would God Her Majeſty could ſee the continual Fears that be in Her Faithful Subject's Hearts, whilſt that Man is about her Noble Perſon, ſo well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to be the

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Calamity of her Princely Blood and Name. The Talk will never out of many Mouths and Minds, that divers ancient Men of this Realm, and one a Wiſe Gentleman, and now a Counſellor, had with a certain Friend of his, touching the Preſage and deep Impreſſion, which her Majeſties Father had of the Houſe of Sir *John Dudley* to be the ruin in time of his Majeſties Royal Houſe and Blood, which thing was like to have been fulfilled ſoon after (as all the World knoweth) upon the Death of King *Edward*, by the ſaid *Dudley*; that Man's Father, who at one Blow procured to diſpatch from all Poſſeſſion of the Crown, all the three Children of the ſaid Noble King, and yet in the midſt of thoſe Bloody Practices againſt her Majeſty that now is, and her Siſter (wherein alſo this Fellow's Hand was ſo far as for his Age he could thruſt the ſame) within ſixteen Days before King *Edward*'s Death, and he knowing belike, that the King ſhould Die, wrote moſt flattering Letters to the Lady *Mary* (as I heard by them who then were with her) promiſing all Loyalty and true Service unto her after the Deceaſe of her Brother, with no leſs painted Words than this Man doth now uſe to Queen *Elizabeth*.

So dealt he then with the moſt dear Children of his good King and Maſter, by whom he had been no leſs Exalted and Truſted than this Man is by her Majeſty, and ſo deeply diſſembled he then when he had in hand the Plot to deſtroy them both. And what then? May we not fear and doubt of this his Son,

Who in outragious Ambition, and desire of Reign is not inferior to his Father, or to any other aspiring Spirit in the World, but far more Insolent, Cruel, Vindicative, Expert, Potent, Subtil, Fine and Fox-like than ever he was? I like well the good Motion propounded by the aforesaid Gentleman to his Friend at the same time, and do assure my self it would be most pleasant to the Realm, and profitable to her Majesty; to wit, that this Man's Actions might be called publickly to Tryal, and Liberty given to good Subjects to say, what they know against the same, as it was permitted in the first Year of King *Henry* the Eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queen *Mary* against his Father, and then I would not doubt, but if these two Ancestors of his were found worthy to loose their Heads for Treason, this Man would not be found Unworthy to make the third in Kindred, whose Treacheries do far surpass them both.

After the Gentleman had said this, the *Lawyer* stood still, somewhat smiling to himself, and looking round about him as though he had been half afraid, and then said, My Masters do you read over, or study the Statutes that come forth? Have you not heard of the Proviso made in the last Parliament for Punishment of those who speak so broad of such Men as my Lord of *Leicester* is?

Yes (said the Gentleman) I have heard how that my Lord of *Leicester* was very careful and diligent to have such a Law pass against Talkers, hoping belike that his Lordship under

der that General Reſtraint might lie the more quietly in Harbor from the Tempeſt of Mens Tongues, which tatled buſily at that time of divers of his Lordſhip's Actions and Affairs, which perhaps himſelf would have wiſhed to have paſſed with more Secreſy; as of his Diſcontentment and Preparation to Rebellion upon Monſieurs firſt coming into *England*: As of his Diſgrace and Checks received in Court: Of the freſh death of the Noble Earl of *Eſſex*, and of this Man's haſty ſnatching up of the Widdow, whom he ſent up and down the Country from Houſe to Houſe by privy ways, thereby to avoid the ſight and knowledge of the Queen, and albeit he had not only uſed her at his good liking before for ſatisfying of his own Luſt, but alſo Married and Re-married her for Contentation of her Friends, yet denied he the ſame by Solemn Oath unto Her Majeſty, and Received the Holy Communion thereupon (ſo good a Conſcience he hath) and conſequently, moſt ſharp Revenge towards all Subjects which ſhould dare to ſpeak thereof: And ſo for the Concealment both of this, and other his doings which he deſireth not to have Publick; no marvail, though his Lordſhip were ſo diligent a Procurer of that Law for Silence.

Indeed (ſaid I) it is very probable, that his Lordſhip was in great Diſtreſs about that time, when Monſieur's Matters were in hand, and that he did many things, and purpoſed more, whereof he deſired leſs Speech among the People, eſpecially afterwards when his ſaid Deſignments took not Place. I my ſelf

being that Year not far from *Warwick*, when he came thither from the Court of all Male-content, and when it was thought moſt certainly throughout the Realm, that he would have taken Arms ſoon after, if the Maraiage of her Majeſty with Monſieur had gone forward: This thing in *Cambridge*, and in all the Country as I rode was in every Man's Mouth, and it was a wonder to ſee, not only the Countenances, but alſo the Behaviour, and to hear the bold Speeches of all ſuch as were of his Faction.

My Lord himſelf had given out a little before at *Killingworth*, that the Matter would coſt many broken Heads before *Michaelmas* day next; and my Lord of *Warwick* had ſaid openly at his Table in *Greenwich* (Sir *Thomas Henning* being by, if I am not deceived) that it was not to be ſuffered (I mean the Marriage) which Words of his once coming abroad (albeit miſliked by his own Lady, then alſo preſent) every Serving-man and common Companion took them up as in Defence of his Lordſhip's Part againſt the Queen: Marry, ſuch running there was, ſuch ſending and poſting about the Realm, ſuch Amplifications of the Powers and Forces of *Caſſimire*, and other Princes, ready as was affirmed, to preſent themſelves to his Aid for Defence of the Realm and Religion againſt Strangers (for that was holden to be the cauſe) ſuch Numbring of Parties and Accomplices within the Realm (whereof he himſelf ſhewed the Catalogue to ſome of his Friends for their Comfort) ſuch debaſing of them which favoured

voured the Marriage, especially 2 or 3 Counsellors by name, who were said to be the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to be sharply punished (to the Terror of all others) such Lettees were written, and intercepted of purpose, importing great Powers to be ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest and open War, as that I began heartily to be afraid, and wished my self back at *Cambridge* again, hoping, that being there, my Scholars Gown should excuse me from Necessity of Fighting, for if not, I was resolved (by my Lord's good Leave) to follow *Aristotle*, who preferred always the Lion before the Bear, assuring my self withal, that his Lordship should have no better Success in this (if it came to Tryal) then his Father had in as bad a Cause, and so much the more, for that I was privy to the Minds of some of his Friends, who meant to have deceived him, if the Matter had broken out.

And amongst others there was a certain Vice-president in the World, who being left in the room and absence of another to procure Friends, said in a Place secret, not far off, that if the Matter come to Blows, he would follow from *Ludlow* his Mistress, and leave his Master in the Briars.

Marry (quoth the Gentleman) and I know many more would follow that Example: For albeit, that I know that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part in that Cause, for their open Inclination towards Monsieur, and consequently for the

greater Diſcredit of the Thing it ſelf, it was given out every where by this Champion of Religion, that her Majeſties Cauſe was the Papiſts Cauſe (even as his Father had done in the like Enterprize before him) though upon Diſſimulation, as appeared at his Death, where he profeſſed himſelf an earneſt Papiſt, yet there was no Man ſo ſimple in the Realm, which diſcried not this Vizard at the firſt, neither yet any good Subject (as I ſuppoſe) who ſeeing her Majeſty on the one part, would not have taken againſt the other part, whatſoever he had been. And much more the thing it ſelf in Controverſie (I mean the Marriage of her Royal Majeſty with the Brother, and Heir Apparent of *France*) being taken ad judged by the Beſt, Wiſeſt and Faithfulleſt Proteſtant in the Realm, to be both Honourable, Convenient, Profitable and needful, whereby only as by a moſt Soveraign and preſent Remedy, all our Maladies, both at home and abroad had been cured, all Foreign Enemies, and Domeſtick Conſpirators, all Differences, all Dangers, all Fears had ceaſed together.

France had been ours moſt aſſured, *Spain* would not a little have trembled, *Scotland* had been quiet, our Competitors in *England* would have quaked, and for the Pope he might have put by his Pipes, our Differences in Religion at home had been rather leſs, or no greater than now they are, for Monſieur being but a moderate Papiſt, and nothing vehement in his Opinions, was content with very reaſonable Conditions for himſelf and his

his Strangers, only in uſe of their Conſcience, not unlikely, truly, but that in time he might be God's Grace, and by the great Wiſdom and Vertue of Her Majeſty, have been brought alſo to imbrace the Goſpel, as King *Etherbert* a Heathen, was by noble Queen *Bertha* his Wife, the firſt Chriſtian of our *Engliſh* Princes: Unto all which Felicity, if (the Lord in Mercy) ſhould have added ſome Iſſue of their Royal Bodies (as was not impoſſible, when firſt this Noble Match was moved) we then doubtleſs had been the Fortunate People under Heaven, and might perhaps have the means to have reſtored the Goſpel throughout all *Europe* beſides, as our Brethren of *France* well conſidered and hoped.

Of all which ſingular Benefits, both in preſent and to come, both in *re* and in *ſpe* this Tyrant for his own private Lucre (fearing leaſt hereby his own intolerable Ambition might be reſtrained, and his Treachery revealed) hath bereaven the Realm, and done what in him lieth beſides to alienate for ever, and make our Mortal Enemy, this great Prince, who ſought the Love of Her Majeſty with ſo much Honor and Confidence, as never Prince the like, putting twice his own Perſon in Jeopardy of the Seas, and to the Peril of his Malitious Envyers here in *England* for Her Majeſties ſake.

When you ſpeak of Monſieur (ſaid the *Lawyer*) I cannot but greatly be moved, both for theſe Conſiderations well touched by you, as alſo for ſome other, eſpecially one, wherein perhaps you will think me partial, but truly

ly I am not, for that I ſpeak it only in reſpect of the Quiet and Good of my Country, and that is, that by Monſieur's Match with our Noble Princeſs (beſides the hope of Iſſue, which was the Principal) there wanteth not alſo probality, that ſome Union or Toleration in Religion between you and us, might have been procured in this State, as we ſee in ſome other Countries is admitted to their great Good: Which thing, no doubt would have cut off quite all Dangers and Dealings from Foreign Princes, and would have ſtopped many Devices and Plots within this Realm, whereas now by this Breach with *France*, we now ſtand alone, as me ſeemeth without any great Union or Friendſhip abroad, and our Differences at home grow more vehement and ſharp than ever before, upon which two Heads, as alſo upon infinite other Cauſes, Purpoſes, Drifts and Pretences, there do enſue daily more deep, dangerous and deſperate Practices, every Man uſing either the Commodity, or Neceſſity of the Time, and State for his own purpoſe, eſpecially now, when all Men preſume that Her Majeſty by the continual Thwarting that hath been uſed againſt all her Marriages, is not like to leave unto the Realm, that precious Jewel ſo much deſired, I mean the Royal Heirs of her own Body.

Thwarting, call you the Defeating of all Her Majeſties moſt Honourable Offers of Marriage (ſaid the Gentleman) truly in my opinion, you ſhould have uſed another word to expreſs the Nature of ſo wicked a Fact, whereby

whereby alone, if there were no other, this unfortunate Man hath done more hurt to this Common-wealth, then if he had murthered many Thouſands of Her Subjects, or betrayed whole Armies to the profeſſed Enemy. I can remember well my ſelf four Treatiſes to this purpoſe, undermined by his means.

The Firſt with the *Sweden* King, the Second with the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, the Third with *Henry* King of *France*, that now reigneth; and the Fourth with the Brother and Heir of that Kingdom: For I let paſs many other ſecret Motions made by great Potentates to her Majeſty, for the ſame purpoſe, but thoſe Four are openly known to have been all diſturbed by this *Davus*, as they were earneſtly puruſed by the other.

And for the firſt Three Suitors, he drove them away, by Proteſting and Swearing, that himſelf was contracted unto her Majeſty: Whereof her Highneſs was ſufficiently advertiſed by Cardinal *Chatillian*, in the Firſt Treaty for *France*; and the Cardinal ſoon after puniſh'd (as 'tis thought) by this Man with Poyſon. But yet this Speech he gave out then every where amongſt his Friends, both Strangers and others, that he, forſooth, was aſſured to her Majeſty, and conſequently, that all other Princes muſt give over their Smiles for him; whereunto, notwithſtanding, when the *Swedtn* King would hardly give Ear, this Man conferr'd with his Privado, to make a moſt unſeemly and diſloyal Proof thereof, for the others Satisfaction.

Which

Which thing I am enforced by Duty to paſs over with Silence, for Honour to the Parties that are touched therein; as alſo I am to conceal his ſaid filthy Privado, though worthy otherwiſe for his Diſhoneſty to be diſplay'd to the World. But my Lord himſelf, I am ſure, doth well remember, both the Man and the Matter.

And albeit there was no Wiſe Man, at that time, who knowing my Lord, ſuſpected not the falſehood of his arrogant Affirmation, touching this Contract with her Majeſty; yet ſome both abroad and at home, might doubt thereof perhaps: But now of late his known Marriage with his Minion, Dame *Lettice* of *Eſſex*, hath declared manifeſtly his own moſt impudent and diſloyal Dealing with his Sovereign in this reſpect.

For that Report (quoth the *Lawyer*) I know that it was common, and mentioned by many for divers Years, yet did the Wiſer ſort make no account thereof, ſeeing it came only from himſelf, and in his own behalf. Neither was it credible, that her Majeſty, who refuſed ſo many noble Kings and Princes, as *Europe* hath not the like, would make choice of ſo mean a piece as *Robin Dudley* is, Noble only in two Deſcents, and both of them ſtained with the Block, for which alſo himſelf was pardoned but the other day, being condemned thereunto by Law, for his Deſerts, as appeareth yet in publick Records. And for the Widow of *Eſſex*, I marvel, Sir (quoth he) how you call her his Wife, ſeeing the Common Law ſtandeth

eth yet in force, touching matter of Marriage within the Realm.

Oh (ſaid the Gentleman laughing) you mean for that he procured the Poiſoning of her Husband in his Journey from *Ireland*; you muſt think that Doctor *Dale* will diſpenſe in that matter (as he did at his Lordſhip's appointment) with his *Italian* Phyſician Doctor *Fulio*, to have Two Wives at once: At leaſt-wiſe, the matter was permitted, and born out by them both publickly (as all the World knoweth) and that againſt no leſs Perſons than the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* himſelf, whoſe overthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant, for contrarying his Will in ſo beaſtly a Demand.

But for this Controverſy, whether the Marriage be good or no, I leave it to be tryed hereafter, between my young Lord of *Denbeigh* and Maſter *Philip Sidney*, whom the ſame moſt concerneth, for that it is like to deprive him of a good Inheritance, if it take place (as ſome will ſay that in no reaſon it can) not only in reſpect of the precedent Adultery and Murther, between the Parties, but alſo for that my Lord was contracted at leaſt to another Lady before, that yet liveth; whereof Mr. *Edward Dyer* and Mr. *Edmund Tinley*, both Courtiers, can be Witneſſes, and conſummate the ſame Contract, by Generation of Children.

But this (as I ſaid) muſt be left to be tryed hereafter by them, which ſhall have moſt Intereſt in the Caſe. Only for the preſent

preſent I muſt advertiſe you, that you may not take hold ſo exactly of my Lord's doings in Womens Affairs; neither touching their Marriages, neither yet their Huſbands.

For firſt, his Lordſhip had a ſpecial Fortune, that when he deſired any Womans Favour, then what Perſon ſoever ſtandeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly, for the finiſhing of his deſire.

As for Example, when his Lordſhip was in full hope to Marry her Majeſty, and his own Wife ſtood in his Light, as he ſuppoſed, he did but ſend her to the Houſe of his Servant *Foſter* of *Comver*, by *Oxford*, where ſhortly after ſhe had the chance to fall from a pair of Stairs, and ſo to break her Neck; but yet without hurting of her Hood, that ſtood upon her Head. But Sir *Richard Varney*, who by commandment remained with her that Day alone, with one Man, and had ſent away *per* force all her Servants from her, to a Market, Two Miles off, he, I ſay, with his Man, can tell you ſhe dyed: Which Man being afterwards taken for a Felony in the Marſhes of *Wales*, and offering the matter of the ſaid Murther, was made away privily in the Priſon: And Sir *Richard* himſelf dying about the ſame time in *London*, cryed piteouſly, and blaſphemed God, and ſaid to a Gentleman of Worſhip, of my Acquaintance, not long before his Death, that all the Devils in Hell did tear him in pieces. The Wife alſo of *Bald. Butler*, Kinſman to my Lord, gave

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out the whole Fact a little before her Death. But to return unto my purpoſe, this was my Lord's good Fortue to have his Wife die at that time, when it was like to turn to his Profit. Long after this he fell in love with the Lady *Sheffeild*, whom I ſignified before, and then alſo had the ſame Fortune to have her Husband die quickly with an extream Rheum in his Head (as it was given out) but as others ſay, with an artificial Catharr that ſtopped his Breath.

The like good Chance had he in the Death of my Lord of *Eſſex* (as I have ſaid before) and that at a time moſt fortunate for his purpoſe: For when he was coming home from *Ireland*, with intent to revenge himſelf upon my Lord of *Leiceſter*, for begetting his Wife with Child in his Abſence (the Child was a Daughter, and brought up by the Lady *Chendois*, *William Knowles*'s his Wife) my Lord of *Leiceſter* hearing thereof, wanted not a Friend or two to accompany the Deputy; and among others a Couple of the Earls own Servants, *Crompton* (if I miſs not his Name) Yeoman of his Bottles, and *Godwick Lloyd*, his Secretary, entertained afterwards by my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and ſo he died by the way of an extream Flux, cauſed by an *Italian* Receit (as all his Friends are well aſſured) the maker whereof was a Surgeon (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from *Italy*, a cunning Man, and ſure in Operation: With whom if the good Lady had been ſooner acquainted, and uſed his help, ſhe ſhould not have needed to have

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ſit ſo penſive at home, and fearful of her Husbands former return out of the ſame Country, but might have ſpared the young Child in her Belly, which ſhe was inforced to make away cruelly and unnaturally, for clearing the Houſe againſt the good Man's arrival.

Neither muſt you marvel, though all theſe dyed of outward Diſeaſes, for this is the Excellency of the *Italian* Art (for which this Surgeon and Doctor *Julio* were entertained ſo carefully) who can make a Man die in what manner, or ſhew of Sickneſs you will: By whoſe Inſtructions, no doubt but his Lordſhip is now cunning, eſpecially adding alſo to thoſe the Couſel of his Doctor *Bayly*, a Man not a little ſtudied (as he ſeemeth) in this Art. For I heard him once my ſelf in Publick Act in *Oxford* (and that in the Preſence of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, if I be not miſtaken) maintain, that Poiſon might ſo be tempered and given, as it ſhould not appear preſently, and yet ſhould kill the Party afterwards at what time it ſhould be appointed: Which Argument, belike, pleaſed well his Lordſhip, and therefore was choſen to be diſcuſſed in his Audience, he being that day preſent. So though one die of a Flux, and another of a Catharr, yet this importeth little to the Matter, but ſheweth rather the great Skil and Cunning of the Artificer.

So Cardinal *Chatillian* (as I have ſaid before) having accuſed the Lord of *Leiceſter* to the Queens Majeſty about the Marriage, and after paſſing from *London*, towards *France*,

France, died by the way at *Canterbury*, of a burning Fever, and ſo proved Dr. *Baily*'s Aſſertion true, that Poiſon may be given to kill at a Day.

At this the *Lawyer* caſt up his Eyes to Heaven, and I ſtood ſomewhat muſing, and thinking of that which had been ſpoken of the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Caſe indeed moved me more than all the reſt; for that he was a noble Gentleman, a great advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students; and towards me, and ſome of my Friends in particular, he had been in ſome things very beneficial: And therefore I ſaid, that it grieved me exceedingly to hear, or think of ſo unworthy a Death, contrived by ſuch means to ſo worthy a Peer. And ſo much the more, for that it was my chance to come to the underſtanding of divers Particulars, concerning that thing both from one *Lea* an *Iriſhman*, *Robin Homines* and others, that were preſent at *Dentheus* Houſe, the Merchant at *Dublin*, upon the Key, where this horrible Murther was committed.

The matter was wrought, eſpecially by *Compton*, Yeoman of the Bottles, and by the Procurement of *Godwick Lloyd* (as hath been before declared) and there was poiſoned at the ſame time, and with the ſame Cup (as given of courteſie by the Earl) one Mrs. *Alice Drakott*, a godly Gentlewoman, whom the Earl affectioned much, who departing thence towards her own Houſe, which was 18 Miles off, the aforeſaid *Lea* accompanying her, ſhe began to fall ſick very grievouſly upon the

way, and continu'd with encreaſe of Pains, and exceſſive Torment by vomiting, until ſhe died, which was the *Sunday* before the Earl's Death, enſuing the *Friday* after; and when ſhe was dead, her Body was ſwollen into a monſtrous Bigneſs and Deformity: Whereof the good Earl hearing the Day following, lamented the Caſe greatly, and ſaid in the preſence of his Servants, Ah! Poor *Alice*, the Cup was not prepared for thee, albeit, it was thy hard fortune to taſte thereof.

Young *Homines* alſo, whoſe Father is Maſter of the Children of her Majeſty's Chappel, being at that time Page to the ſaid Earl, and accuſtomed ro take the taſte of his Drink (though ſince entertained amongſt others by my Lord of *Leiceſter*, for better covering of the matter) by his Taſte that he then took of the Compound Cup, though in very ſmall quantity (as you know the Faſhion is) yet was he like to have loſt his Life, but ſcaped in the end, being young, with the loſs of his Hair; which the Earl perceiving, and taking compaſſion of the Youth, called for a Cup of Drink, a little before his Death, aod drank to *Homines*, ſaying, I drink, to thee my *Robin*, and be not afraid, for this is a better Cup of Drink than that whereof thou tookeſt the taſte, when we were both Poiſoned; and whereby thou haſt loſt thy Hair, and I muſt loſe my Life.

This hath young *Homines* reported openly in divers Places, and before divers Gentlemen of Worſhip, ſince his coming into *England*.

And

And the aforeſaid *Lea* an Iriſhman, at his Paſſage this way towards *Frunce*, after he had been preſent at the forenamed *Drabbot*'s Death, which ſome other of the Earl's Servents have, and do moſt conſtantly report the ſame, where they may do it without the Terror of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Revenge.

Wherefore in this matter, there is no doubt at all, though moſt extream, vile and intolerable Indignity, that ſuch a Man ſhould be ſo openly Murthered without Puniſhment.

What Noble Man within the Realm may be ſafe if this be ſuffered? Or what worthy Perſonage will adventure his Life in her Majeſty's Service if this ſhall be his Reward?

But Sir, I pray you, pardon me, for I am perhaps ſomewhat too vehement in the Caſe of this my Noble Patron, and Peer of our Realm: And therefore I beſeech you to go forwards in your Talk whereat you left.

I was recounting to you (ſaid the Gentleman) others made away by my Lord of *Leiceſter* with like art; and the next in order I think was Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton*, who was a Man whom my Lord of *Leiceſter* uſed a great while, as all the World knoweth, to overthwart and croſs the doings of my Lord Treaſurer, then Sir *William Cecil*, a Man ſpecially always miſliked of *Leiceſter*, who in reſpect of his old Maſter, the Duke of *Somerſet*, as alſo for that in his great Wiſdom, Zeal and ſingular Fidelity to the Realm, was like to hinder much this Man's Deſignments: Wherefore underſtanding after a certain time that theſe two Knights were ſecretly made Friends, and that Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton* was like to

detect his doings(as he imagined)which might be ſome prejudice and let to his Purpoſes, having conceived alſo a ſecret grudge and grief againſt him; for that he had written to her Majeſty, at his being Ambaſſador in *France*, that he heard it reported at Duke *Memorance*'s Table, that the Queen of *England* had a meaning to marry her Horſe-keeper: Invited the ſaid Sir *Nicholas* to a Supper, at his Houſe in *London*, and at Supper-time departed to the Court, being call'd for as he ſaid, on the ſudden by her Majeſty, and ſo *per* force would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to ſit and occupy his Lordſhip's Place, and therein to be ſerved as he was, and ſoon after by a Surfeit there taken, he died of a ſtrange incurable Vomit. But the Day before his Death, he declared to a dear Friend of his, all the Circumſtance and Cauſe of his Diſeaſe, which he affirmed plainly to be Poiſen given him in a Sallet at Supper, inveighing moſt earneſtly againſt the Earl's Cruelty, and bloody Diſpoſition; affirming him to be the Wickedeſt, moſt Perilous and Perfidious Man under Heaven.

But what availeth this, when he had received the Bait? This then is to ſhew the Man's good Fortune, in ſeeing them dead, whom for Cauſes he would not have to live.

And for his Art of Poiſoning, it is ſuch now, and reacheth ſo far, as he holdeth all his Foes in *England*, and elſewhere; as alſo a good many of his Friends in fear thereof. And if it were known how many he hath diſpatched

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and assaulted that way it would be marvellous to Posterity.

The late Earl of *Sussex* wanted not a Scruple for many Years before his Death, of some Dram received, that made him incurable.

And to that noble Gentleman Monsieur *Shemeirs*, it was discovered by great Providence of God, that his Life was to be attempted by that Art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his own Circumspection) it was concluded, that the same should be assaulted by Violence: Whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

It hath been also told me by some of the Servants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was also of the Blood Royal by *Scotland*, as all Men know, and therefore little liked by *Leicester*, that a little before her Death my Lord took the pains to come and visit her, with extraordinary kindness at her House at *Hackney*, bestowing long Discourses with her in private; but as soon as he was departed, the good Lady fell into such a Flux, as by no means could be stayed, so long as she had life in her Body: Whereupon both she her self, and also such as were near about her, and saw her Disease and ending of her Days, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her Dispatch at his being there, whereof let the Woman that served her be examined; and also *Flower*, that then had the chief doings in her Affairs, sithence hath been entertained by my Lord of *Leicester*: *Mallet* likewise a stranger born, that then was about

her, a Sober and Zealous Man in Religion, and otherwiſe well qualified, can ſay ſomewhat in this Point if he were demanded. So that this Art and Exerciſe of Poiſoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying, and he ſeemeth to take more Pleaſure therein.

Now for the ſecond point which I named touching Marriages, and Contracts with Women; you muſt not marvel though his Lordſhip be ſomewhat diverſe and inconſtant with himſelf; for that, according to his Profit, or his Pleaſure, and as his Luſt and Liking ſhall vary.

And herein by the Judgment of all Men, he ſurpaſſeth not only *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Heliogabulus* himſelf. So his Lordſhip alſo changeth Wives and Minions by killing one, and denying the other, uſing the Third for a time, and fawning upon the Fourth. And for this Cauſe he hath his Terms and Pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Pre-contracts, Poſt-contracts, Protracts and Retracts. As for Example, after he had killed his firſt Wife, and ſo broken that Contract, then forſooth would he needs make himſelf Husband to Queen *Mary*, and ſo defeat all other Princes, by vertue of his Pre-contract.

But after this, his Luſt compelling him to another Place, he would needs make a Poſt-contract with the Lady *Sheffeild*, and ſo he did, begetting Two upon her: The one a Boy called *Robin Sheffeild*, now living, ſometimes brought up at *Newington*; and the other a Daughter, born as it is well known at *Dudley-Caſtle*.

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But yet after his Concupiſcence changing again, as it never ſtayed, he reſolved to make a Retract of his Poſt-contract, tho' it were as ſurely done as Bed and Bible could make the ſame, and to make a new Protract, which is a continuation of uſing her for a time, with the Widdow of *Eſſex*. But yet to ſtop the Mouths of Out-cries, and to bury the Synagogue with ſome Honour (for theſe Two Wives of *Leiceſter*, were merrily and wittily called his Old and New Teſtament, by a Perſon of great Excellency within the Realm) he being content to aſſign to the former One Thouſand Pounds in Money, with other petty Conſiderations (the pitifulleſt abuſed that ever was Lady) and ſo betake his times to the latter; which latter notwithſtanding he ſo uſeth, as we ſee, now Confeſſing, now Forſwearing, now Diſſembling the Marriage, as he will always, yet keep a void Place for a new ſure Contract with any other, when occaſion ſhall require.

Now of a truth Sir (quoth I) I never heard, nor read the like to this in my life; yet have I read much in the time of the Carnality and Licentiouſneſs of divers outragious Perſons in this kind of Sin; as namely thoſe whom you mentioned, eſpecially the Emperour *Heliogabalus*, who paſſed all others, and was called *Darius*, of the variety of filth, which he uſed in this kind of Carnality, or Carnal Beaſtlineſs, whoſe Death was, that being at length odious to all Men, and ſo ſlain by his own Soldiers, was drawn through the City upon the Ground like a Dog, and caſt into the com-

mon Privy, with this Epitaph, *Hic projectus eſt indomitæ & rapidæ libidinis catulus*: Here is thrown in the Whelp of raging and unruly Luſt: Which Epitaph may alſo one Day chance to ſerve my Lord of *Leiceſter*, whom you call the Bear Whelp, if he go forward as he hath begun, and die as he deſerveth. But good Sir, what an intollerable thing is this, that amongſt us Chriſtians. and namely in ſo well a govern'd Common-wealth as ours is, ſuch a Riot ſhould be permitted upon Mens Wives in a Subject; whereas we read that amongſt the Heathens, leſs Offences then theſe in the ſame kind were extremely puniſhed even in Princes themſelves; that not only in the Perſon delinquent alone, but alſo by the extirpation of the whole Family for his ſake; as appeareth in the Example of the *Tarquinians* among the *Romans*: And here alſo in our Realm we have Regiſtred in Chronicle, how that one King *Edwin* 600 Years paſt, was deprived of his Kingdom, for much leſs ſcandalous Facts than theſe.

I remember well the Story (quoth the *Gentleman*) and thereby do eaſily make conjecture, what difference there is, betwixt thoſe times of old, and our days now, ſeeing then a Crowned Prince could not paſs unpuniſhed, with one or two Outragious Acts; whereas now a Subject, raiſed up but yeſterday from the meaner ſort, rangeth at his Pleaſure in all Licentiouſneſs, and that with Security, void of Fear both of God and Man. No Mans Wife can be free from him, whom his Fiery Luſt liſteth to abuſe, nor their Huſ-

Husbands able to reſiſt, nor ſafe from his Violence, if they ſhew diſlike, or will not yield their Conſent to his Doings. And if I ſhould diſcover in particular, how many good Husbands he had plagued in this Nature (for his Concupiſcence and Violence do run joyntly together, as in furious Beaſts we ſee they are accuſtomed.) Neither holdeth he any Rule in his Luſts, beſides only the Motion and Suggeſtion of his own Senſuality; Kindred or Affinity, or any other Band of Conſanguinity, Religion, Honor or Honeſty taketh no place in his Outragious Appetite, what he beſt liketh, that he taketh as Lawful for the Time: So that Kinſwoman, Allie, Friend, Wife or Daughter, or whatſoever Female ſort beſides doth pleaſe his Eye (I leave out of purpoſe, and for Honors ſake, Terms of Kindred more near) that muſt yield to his Deſire.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her Daughters at once, or ſucceſſively, is no more with him, than the eating of a Hen and her Chickens together. There are not by report two Noble Women about Her Majeſty (I ſpeak upon ſome account of them that know much) whom he hath not ſollicited by Potent Ways. Neither contented with his Place of Honor, he hath deſcended to ſeek the Paſture among the Waiting Gentlewomen of her Majeſties great Chamber, offering more for their Allurement, than I think *Lais* did take commonly in *Corinth*, if three hundred Pounds will make up the Sum, or if not, yet will he make it up other

therwiſe, having reported himſelf (ſo little Shame he hath) that he offered to another of higher Place, an hundred Pounds Lands by the Year, with as much Jewels as moſt Women under her Majeſty uſed in *England*, which was no mean Bait to one that uſed Traffick in ſuch Merchandize, ſhe being but the Leaving of another Man before him, whereof my Lord was nothing ſqueamiſh for ſatisfying of his Luſt, but can be content to gather up Crumbs, when he is hungry, even in the Laundry it ſelf, or other Place of baſer Quality.

And albeit, the Lord of his great Mercy, (to do him good, no doubt, if he were Revocable) hath laid his Hand upon him in ſome Chaſtiſement in this World, by giving him a broken Belly on both ſides of his Bowels, whereby Miſery and Putrefaction is threatned him daily, and to his Son by the Widow of *Eſſex* (being *filius peccati*) ſuch a ſtrange Calamity of the Falling-ſickneſs in his Infancy, as well may be a Witneſs of his Parents Sin and Wickedneſs, and of both their Waſted Natures in Iniquity.

Yet is this Man nothing amended thereby; but according to the Cuſtom of old Adulterers, is more libidinous at this day than ever before, more given to procure Love in others by Conjuring, Sorcery, and other ſuch Means. And albeit, for himſelf, both Age and Nature ſpent, doth ſomewhat tame him from this Act, yet wanteth he not Will, as appeareth by the *Italian* Ointment, procured not many Years paſt by his Surgeon; where-

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by he is able, as they ſay, to move his Fleſh at all times for keeping of his Credit, howſoever his Inability is otherwiſe for Performance: As alſo one of his Phyſicians reported to an Earl of this Land, that his Lordſhip had a Bottle for his Beds-head of ten Pounds the Pint, to the ſame effect. But my Maſters, whether are we faln unadviſedly? I am aſhamed to have named ſo baſe Filthineſs.

Not without good Cauſe (quoth I) but that we are here alone, and no Man heareth us. Wherefore, I pray you, let us return whereat we left.

When you named my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Daughter, Born of the Lady *Sheffeild* in *Dudley Caſtle*, there came into my Head a pritty Story concerning that Affair, which now I will Recount, though ſomewhat out of order, thereby to draw you from the further ſtirring of this unſavory Puddle, and foul Dunghil, whereinto we have ſlipped, by following my Lord too far in his Paths and Actions.

Wherefore to tell you the Tale, as it fell out; I grew acquainted ſome few Months paſt, with a certain Miniſter, that now is dead, and was the ſame Man that was uſed at *Dadley Caſtle*, for Complement of ſome Sacred Ceremonies at the Birth of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Daughter in that Place. The Matter was ordered by the Wily Wit of him that ſowed the Seed, that for the better covering of the Harveſt, and ſecret Delivery of the Lady *Sheffeild*, the good Wife of the Caſtle (whereby *Leiceſter* appointed Goſſips, might

might without other Suſpicion have Acceſs to the Place) ſhould fain her ſelf to be with Child, and after long and ſore Labour, God wot, to be Delivered of a Cuſhion, as ſhe was, and a little after a fair Coffin was buried with a bundle of Clouts in ſhew of a Child, and the Miniſter cauſed to uſe all accuſtomed Prayers and Ceremonies for the Solemn Interring threeof. For which thing afterwards before his Death, he had great Grief and Remorſe of Conſcience, with no ſmall Deteſtation of the moſt Irreligious Device of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s in ſuch a caſe.

Here the *Lawyer* began to laugh a pace, both at the Device, and at the Miniſter, ſaying: Now, truly, if my Lord's Contracts hold no better, but have ſo many Infirmities, with Subtilties, and by Places beſides, I would be loath he were Married to my Daughter, as mean as ſhe is.

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two be his Wife for the time, than his Gueſt eſpecially, if the *Italian* Surgeon or Phyſician be at hand.

True it is, ſaid the *Lawyer*, for he doth not Poiſon his Wives, whereat I ſomewhrt marvil, eſpecially his firſt Wife, whom he choſe rather to make away by open Violence, than by ſome *Italian* Comfortive.

Hereof (ſaid the Gentleman) may be divers Reaſons alledged: Firſt, That he was not at that time ſo skilful in thoſe *Italian* Wares, nor had about him ſo skilful Phyſicians or Surgeons for the purpoſe, nor yet in truth do I think that his Mind was ſetled then in Miſchief,

chief, as it hath been ſince; for you know that Men are not deſperate the firſt Day, but do enter into Wickedneſs by degrees, and that with doubt or ſtaggering of Conſcience at the beginning. And ſo he might at that time be deſirous to have his wife made away, for that ſhe letted his Deſignment, but not yet ſo Stony Hearted, as to appoint out the particular manner of her Death, but rather to leave that to the Diſcretion of the Murtherer. Secondly, It is not unlike alſo, that he preſcribed unto Sir *Richard Darney* at his going thither, that he ſhould firſt attempt to kill her by Poiſon, and if that took not place, than by another way to diſpatch her howſoever. And this I prove by the Report of old Doctor *Baily*, who then lived in *Oxford* (another manner of Man than he that now liveth about my Lord of the ſame Name) and was Profeſſor of the Phyſick Lecture in the ſame Univerſity.

This Learned Grave Man reported for a certain, that there was a Practice in *Cumver* amongſt the Conſpirators to have Poiſoned the poor Lady a little before ſhe was killed, which was attempted in this order; They ſeeing the good Lady ſad and heavy (as one that knew by her handling, that her Death was not far off) began to perſwade her, that her Diſeaſe was abundance of Melancholly, and other Humors, and therefore would needs Counſel her to take ſome Potion, which ſhe abſolutely refuſed to do, as ſuſpecting ſtill the worſt: They ſent one day (unawares to her) for Doctor *Bail*, and deſired him

him to perſwade her to take ſome little Potion at his Hands, and they would ſend to fetch the ſame at *Oxford* upon his Preſcription, meaning alſo to have added ſomewhat of their own for her Comfort (as the Doctor upon juſt Cauſes ſuſpected, ſeeing their great Importunity, and the ſmall need the good Lady had of Phyſick) and therefore he flatly denied their Requeſt, miſdoubting (as he after reported) leaſt, if they had poiſoned her under the name of his Potion, he might after have been hanged for a Cover to their Sin.

Marry, the Doctor remained well aſſured, that this way taking no place, ſhe ſhould not long eſcape Violence, as after enſued.

And this was ſo beaten into the Heads of the Principal Men of the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*, by theſe, and other Means; as for that ſhe was found Murthered (as all Men ſaid) by the Coroners Inqueſt: And for that ſhe being haſtily and obſcurely Buried at *Cumver*, which was condemned, above (as not adviſedly done) my Lord, to make plain to the World, the great Love he bare to her in her Life, and what a Grief the loſs of ſo Vertuous a Lady was to his tender Heart, would needs have her taken up again and re-buried in the *Univerſity Church* at *Oxford* with great Pomp and Solemnity: That Doctor *Babington*, my Lord's Chaplain, making the Publick Funeral Sermon at her ſecond Burial, tript once or twice in his Speech, by recommending to their Memories that Vertuous Lady ſo pitifully

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Murthered, inſtead of ſo pitiouſly Slain. A third Cauſe of this manner of the Ladies Death, may be the Diſpoſition of my Lord's Nature, which is Bold and Violent, where it feareth no reſiſtance (as all Cowardly Natures are by kind) and where any Difficulty or Danger appeareth, there more ready to attempt all by Art, Subtilty, Treaſon and Treachery: And ſo for that he doubted no great Reſiſtance in the poor Lady to withſtand the Hands of them which ſhould offer to break her Neck, he durſt the bolder attempt the ſame openly: But in the Men whom he poiſoned, for that they were ſuch valiant Knights the moſt part of them, he was inforced, as all Wretched, Ireful and Daſtardly Creatures are, to ſupplant them by Fraud, and by other Mens Hands: As alſo at other times he hath ſought to do unto divers other Noble and Valiant Perſonages, when he was afraid to meet them in the Field, as a Knight ſhould have done. His Treacheries towards the Noble late Earl of *Suſſex*, in their many Breaches is notorious to all *England*, as alſo the Bloody Practices againſt divers others, but among many, none more odious and miſliked of all Men, than thoſe againſt Monſieur *Shemiers*, a Stranger and Embaſſador: Whom firſt he practiſed to have poiſoned, and when that Device took no place, than he appointed that *Robin Tyder* his Man (as after upon his Ale-bench he confeſſed) ſhould have Slain him at the *Blaek-fryars* in *Greenwich*, as he went forth at the Garden-gate, but miſſing alſo of that purpoſe, for that he found the

him to perſwade her to take ſome little Potion at his Hands, and they would ſend to fetch the ſame at *Oxford* upon his Preſcription, meaning alſo to have added ſomewhat of their own for her Comfort (as the Doctor upon juſt Cauſes ſuſpected, ſeeing their great Importunity, and the ſmall need the good Lady had of Phyſick) and therefore he flatly denied their Requeſt, miſdoubting (as he after reported) leaſt, if they had poiſoned her under the name of his Potion, he might after have been hanged for a Cover to their Sin.

Marry, the Doctor remained well aſſured, that this way taking no place, ſhe ſhould not long eſcape Violence, as after enſued.

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the Gentleman better provided and guarded than he expected, he dealt with certain *Flushingers*, and other Pyrates to sink him at the Sea, which the *English* Gentlemen, his Favourers, that accompanied him at his Return into *France*, and although they missed of this Practise also (as not daring to set upon them for fear of some of her Majesties Ships, who to break off this Designment, attended by Special commandment to cast him over in Safety) yet the aforesaid *English* Gentleman were holden four hours in Chase at their coming back, as Mr. *Rawley* well knoweth, being then present, and two of the Chasers, named *Clerk* and *Harris*, confessed afterwards the whole Designment.

The Earl of *Ormond* hath likewise often declared, and will avouch it to my Lord of *Leicester*'s Face, whensoever he shall be called to the same, that at such time as this Man had a Quarrel with him, and thereby was likely to be inforced to the Field (which he trembled to think of) he first sought by all means to get him made away by secret Murther, offering five hundred Pounds for the doing thereof. And Secondly, when that Device took no place, he appointed with him the Field, but secretly suborning his Servant, *William Killygrew* to lie in the way where *Ormond* should pass, and so to Massacre him with a Callivar before he came to the Place appointed; which Murther, though it took no effect, for that the Matter was taken up before the Day of Meeting, yet was *Killygrew* placed afterward in Her Majesties Privy

vy Chamber by *Leiceſter*, for ſhewing his ready Mind to do his Maſter ſo faithful a Service.

So faithful a Service (quoth I) truly in my opinion it was but an unfit Preferment for ſo Facinorous a Fact: And as I would be loath that many of his *Italians*, or other of that Art, ſhould come nigh about Her Majeſties Kitching: So much leſs would I that many ſuch his Bloody Champions ſhould be placed by him in her Highneſs's Chamber.

Albeit, for this Gentleman in particular, it may be that with change of his Place in Service, he hath changed alſo his Mind and Affection, and received better Inſtruction in the Fear of the Lord.

But yet in general, I muſt needs ſay, that it cannot be but prejudicial, and exceeding dangerous to our noble Prince and Realm, that any one Man (eſpecially ſuch a one as the World taketh this Man to be) ſhould grow to ſuch abſolute Authority and Commandment in the Court, as to place about the Prince's Perſon (the Head, the Heart, the Life of the Land) whatſoever People liketh him beſt, and that not upon their Deſerts towards the Prince, but towards himſelf. Whoſe Fidelity being more obliged towards their Advancer, than to their Soveraign, do ſerve for Watchmen about the ſame for the profit of him, by whoſe Appointment they were there placed, who by their means caſting indeed but Nets, and Chains, and inviſible Hands about that Perſon, whom moſt of all he pretendeth to ſerve,

he ſhutteth up his Prince in a Priſon moſt ſure, yet ſweet and ſenſeleſs. Neither is this Art of Aſpiring new or ſtrange unto any Man that is experienced in Affairs of former times; for that hath been from the Beginning of all Government, a trodden Path of all Aſpirers. In the Stories, both Sacred and Prophane, Foreign and Domeſtical of all Nations, Kingdoms, Countries and States, you ſhall read that ſuch as meant to mount above others, and to govern all at their own diſcretion, did lay this for their firſt Ground and Principel of their Purpoſe, to poſſeſs themſelves of all ſuch as were in Place about the Principal. Even as he who intending to hold a great City at his own Diſpoſition, dareth not to make open War againſt the ſame, but getteth ſecretly into his Hand, or at his Devotion all the Towns, Villages, Caſtles, Fortreſſes, Bullwarks, Rampiers, Waters, Ways, Ports and Paſſages about the ſame, and ſo without drawing any Sword againſt the City, he bringeth the ſame into Bondage to abide his Will and Pleaſure.

This did all thoſe in the *Roman Empire*, who roſe from Subjects to be great Princes, and to put down Emperours.

This did all thoſe in *France*, and other Kingdoms, who at ſundry times have Tyrannized their Princes. And in our Country the Examples are manifeſt of *Vortiger*, *Harold*, *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, *Richard of Warwick*, *Richard* of *Glouceſter*, *John* of *Northumberland*, and divers others, who by this means

means especially, have pulled down their lawful Sovereigns.

And to speak only a Word or two of the last, for that he was this Man's Father: Doth not all *England* know, that he first overthrew the good Duke of *Somerset*, by drawing to his Devotion the very Servants and Friends of the said Duke, and afterwards did he not possess himself of the King's own Person, and brought him to the End which is known, and that before the shameful Disinheritage of his own Royal Sisters, and all this by possessing first the Principal Men, that were in Authority about him? Wherefore, if my Lord of *Leicester* have the same Plot in his Head, as most Men think, and that he meaneth one day to give the same push at the Crown by the House of *Huntington* against all the Race and Line of King *Henry* the Seventh in general, which his Father gave before him by pretence of the House of *Suffolk*, against the Children of King *Henry the* VIII. in particular, he wanteth not Reason to follow the same Means and Platform of planting special Persons for his purpose about the Prince; for sure his Father's Plot lacked no witty Device or Preparation, but only that God overthrew it at the instant, as happily he may do this Man's also, notwithstanding any Diligence that Human Wisdom can use to the contrary.

To this (said the Gentleman) that my Lord of *Leicester* hath a Purpose to shoot one day at the Diadem, by the Title of *Huntington*, is not a thing obscure in it self, and it shall be

more plainly proved hereafter: But now I will ſhew unto you for your Inſtruction how well this Man hath followed his Father's Platform, or rather paſſed the ſame, in poſſeſſing himſelf of all her Majeſties Servants and Friends, and Forces too, to ſerve his turn for Execution at that time, and in the mean Space for Preparation.

First, In the *Privy Chamber*, next to her Majeſties Perſon, the moſt part are his own Creatures (as he calleth them) that is, ſuch as acknowledge their being in that Place from him, and the reſt he ſo over-ruleth either by Flattery or Fear, as none my dare but to ſerve his turn. His Reign alſo is ſo abſolute in this Place, and likewiſe in all other Parts of the Court, as nothing can paſs but by his Admiſſion; nothing can be ſaid, done, or ſignified, whereof he is not particularly adverti-ſed, no Bill, no Supplication, no Complaint, no Suit, no Speech can paſs from any Man to the Prince (except it be from one of the Council) but by his good Liking; or if they otherwiſe do, he being admoniſhed thereof (as preſently he ſhall) the Party delinquent is ſure afterwards to ſeek the Smart thereof. Whereby he holdeth, as it were a Lock upon the Ears of his Prince, and the Tongues of all Her Majeſties Servants, ſo ſurely Chained to his Girdle, as no Man dareth to ſpeak any one thing, that may offend him, though it were never ſo true and behoofeful for Her Majeſty to know: As well appeared in his late Marriage with Dame *Eſſex*, which albeit it was Celebrated twice, firſt at *Killingworth*,

and

and ſecondly at *Wainſtead* in the Preſence of the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knowles*, and others; and this being exactly known to the whole Court, with the very Day, the Place, Witneſſes, and the Miniſter that Married them together, yet no Man durſt open his Mouth to make Her Majeſty privy thereunto, until Monſieur *Shemiers* diſcloſed the ſame, and thereby incurred his high Diſpleaſure, with a Subjection moſt diſhonourable and dangerous to any Prince living, to ſtand at the Devotion of his Subject, what to hear, and not to hear, of things that paſs within his own Realm. And thereof it followeth, that no ſuit can prevail in Court (be it never ſo mean) except he be firſt made acquainted, and receive not only the Thanks, but alſo be admitted unto a great part of the Gain and Commodity thereof; which as it is a great Injury to the Suitor, ſo a far more greater to the Bounty, Honor and Security of the Prince, by whoſe Liberality this Man feedeth only, and forfeiting himſelf, depriveth his Soveraign of all Grace, Thanks and Good-will for the ſame. For which he giveth out ordinarily to every Suitor, that her Majeſty is nigh and Parſimonious to her ſelf, and very difficult to grant any Smiles, were it not only upon his unceſſant Sollicitation, whereby he filleth his own Purſe the more, and emptieth the Hearts of ſuch as receive Benefits, of due Thanks to their Princeſs for the ſame obtained.

Hereof alſo enſueth, that no Man may be preferred in the Court, be he otherwiſe never

☞ ſo well a deſerving Servant to Her Majeſty, except he be one of *Leiceſter*'s Faction or Followers: None can be advanced, except he be liked and preferred by him: None receive Grace, except he ſtand in his good Favour; no one may live in continuance and quiet of Life, except he take it, uſe it, and acknowledge it from him: So as all the Favours, Graces, Dignities, Preferments, Riches and Rewards which her Majeſty beſtoweth, or the Realm can yield muſt ſerve to purchaſe this Man's private Friends and Favourers, only to advance his Party, and to fortifie his Faction. Which Faction, if by this means it be great (as indeed it is) you may not marvel, ſeeing the Riches and Wealth of ſo worthy a Common-wealth doth but ſerve him for a Price to buy the ſame. Which thing himſelf well knoweth, frameth his Spirit of proceeding Correſpondently, and upon Confidence thereof is become ſo inſolent and impatient of his Ire, that none may bear the ſame, how juſtly or unjuſtly ſoever it be conceived. For albeit he begins to hate a Man upon mere Surmiſe only (as commonly it falleth out, Ambition being the Mother of Suſpcion) yet he proſecuteth the ſame with ſuch implacable cruelty, as there is no long abiding for the Party in that Place, which might be ſhewed by the Examples of many whom he chaſed from the Court, upon his only Diſpleaſure, without other cauſe, being known otherwiſe zealous *Proteſtants*, as Mr. *Jerom Bowes*, Maſter *George Scott*, and others that we could name.

To this inſolency is alſo joined, as by Nature it followeth, moſt abſolute and peremptory

tory Dealing in all things, whereof it pleaseth him to Dispose, without respect either of Reason, Order, Due, Right, Subordination, Custom, Convenience, or the like, whereof, notwithstanding, Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their Matters. As for example, among the Servants of the Queen's Majesties Household, it is an ancient and most commendable Custom, that when a Place of higher room falleth void, he that by Succession is the next, and hath made proof of his Worthiness in an inferior Place, should rise and possess the same (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no Man unexperienced or untried, should be placed in the higher Rooms the first Day, to the prejudice of others, and Disservice of the Prince, which most reasonable Custom this Man condemning, and breaking at his pleasure, thrusting into higher Rooms, any Person whatsoever, so he like his Inclination, or feel his Reward; albeit, he neither be fit for the purpose, or hath been so much as Clerk in any Inferior Office before. The like he useth out of the Court in all other Places, where Matters should pass by order of Election or Degree. As in the *Universities*, in Election of Scholars and Heads of Houses, in Ecclesiastical Persons for Dignities of Church, in Offices, Magistrates, Stewards of Lands, Sheriffs, and Knights of the Shire, in Burgesses of *Parliament*, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of the Peace, whereof many in every Shire must wear his Livery, and all other the like, where this Man's Will must

ſtand for Law and Reaſon, and his Letters for Abſolute Laws. Neither is there any Man, Magiſtrate or Commiſſioner, in the Realm, who dareth not ſooner deny the Petition of Her Majeſties Letters upon juſt Cauſes (for that her Highneſs is content to be ſatisfied with Reaſon) then to reſiſt the Commandment of this Man's Letters, who will admit no Excuſe or Satisfaction, but only the Execution of his ſaid Commandment, be it right or wrong.

To this anſwered the *Lawyer*, you verily Sir, Paint unto me a ſtrange Pattern of a perfect Potentate in the Court, be like that Stranger, who called our State in his Printed Book, *Leiceſtrenſem Rempublicam*, a *Leiceſtrian* Common-wealth, or the Common-wealth of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, knoweth much of this Matter.

But to hold, Sir, ſtill not within the Court I aſſure you by Conſiderations which you have laid down, I begin now to perceive that this Party muſt needs be very great and ſtrong within the Court, ſeeing that he hath ſo many Ways and Means to increaſe, inrich and encourage the ſame, and ſo ſtrong Abilities to tread down his Enemies. The common Speech of many wanteth not Reaſon, I perceive, which calleth him the Heart and Life of the Court.

They which call him the Heart (ſaid the Gentleman) upon a little occaſion more will call him alſo the Head, and then I marvel what ſhould be left for Her Majeſty, when they take from Her both Life, Heart and Headſhip

Headſhip in her own Realm? But the truth is, he hath the——at this day in almoſt the ſame Caſe, as his Father had it in King *Edward*'s Days, by the ſame Device (the Lord forbid that ever it come fully to the ſame ſtate) for then we know what enſued to the Principal.

And if you will have an evident Demonſtration of this Man's Power and Favour in that Place, call but to mind the times when Her Majeſty, upon moſt juſt and urgent Occaſions, did withdraw but a little her wonted Favour and Countenance from him, did not all the Court as it were mutiny preſently? Did not every Man hang the Lip? Except but a few, who afterwards paid ſweetly for their Mirth; Were there not every Day new Devices ſought out, that ſome ſhould be on their Knees to her Majeſty? Some ſhould weep and put Finger in Eye; others ſhould find out certain covert manner of Threatnings; other Perſons and Perſwaſions of Love, other of Profit, other of Honour, other of Neceſſity, and all to get him recall'd back to favour again? And had her Majeſty any reſt permitted unto her, until ſhe had heard and granted the ſame?

Conſider then I pray you, that if at that time in his Diſgrace he had his Faction ſo faſt aſſured to himſelf, what hath he now in his Proſperity, after ſo many years of Satisfaction? wherein by all Reaſon, he have not been negligent, ſeeing that in Policy, the firſt point of good Fortification is to make that Fort impregnable, which once hath been in danger to be loſt. Whereof you have an Example

ample in *Richard* Duke of *York*, in the time of King *Henry* the Sixth, who being once in the King's Hands, by his own Submiſſion, and diſmiſſed again, when for his Deſerts he ſhould have ſuffered; provided after, that the King ſhould never be able to over-reach him the ſecond time, or have him in his Power to do him hurt, but made himſelf ſtrong enough to pull down the other, with the extirpation of his Family. And this of the Court, Houſehold, and Chamber of her Majeſty.

But now, if we ſhall paſs from Court to Council, we ſhall find him no leſs Fortified, but rather more.

For albeit the Providence of God hath been ſuch, that in this moſt Honourable Aſſembly, there hath not wanted ſome two or three of the Wiſeſt, Graveſt, and moſt Experienc'd in our State, that have ſeen and heard this Man's perilous Proceedings from the beginning (whereof notwithſtanding two are now deceaſed, and their Places ſupplyed to *Leiceſter*'s good liking) yet the wiſdom of thoſe worthy Men have diſcovered alway more than their Authorities were able to redreſs (the others greater Power and Violence conſidered) and for the reſidue of that Bench and Table, tho' I doubt not but there are divers who do in Heart deteſt his doings (as there were alſo no doubt amongſt the Counſellors of K. *Edw.* who miſliked this Man's Father's Attempts, though not ſo hardy as to contrary the ſame) yet for moſt part of the Council preſent, they are known to be ſo affected in particular; the one, for that he is to him a Brother,

the

the other a faſt obliged Friend, the other a Father, the other a Kinſman, the other an Allie, the other a Follower, or Fellow in Faction, ſo as none will ſtand in the Breach againſt him; none dare reſiſt or encounter his Deſignments, but every Man yeildeth rather to the force of his Blow, permitting him to pierce and paſs at his Pleaſure, in whatſoever his Will is once ſettled to obtain.

And hereof (were I not ſtayed in reſpect of ſome who I may not name) I could alledge ſtrange Examples, not ſo much in Affairs belonging to Subjects and private Men, as were the Caſes of *Snowden*, *Forreſt*, *Denbeigh* and *Killingworth*, of his fair Paſture *Fouley* procured by *Southam*, of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, of the Lord *Barkley*, of Sir *John Thorgmorton*, and the like; wherein thoſe of the Council that diſliked his doings, leaſt dared to oppoſe themſelves to the ſame, but alſo in things that appertain directly to the Crown and Dignity, to the State and Common-wealth, and to the Safety and Continuance thereof.

It is not ſure for any one Counſellor, or other of Authority, to take notice of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Errors or Miſdeeds, but with extream Peril of their own Ruin.

As for Example, in the Rebellion in *Ireland*, at the beginning, when my Lord of *Leiceſter* was in ſome Diſgrace, and conſequently (as he imagined) but in frail ſtate at home, he thought it not unexpedient for his better Aſſurance to hold ſome Intelligence that way for all Events, and ſo he did; whereof there

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was ſo good Evidence and Teſtimony found upon one of the firſt of account that was there ſlain (as honourable Perſonages of their knowledge have aſſured me) as would have been ſufficient to have toucht the Life of any Subject of the Land, or in any State Chriſtian, but only my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who is a Subject without Subjection.

For what think you? Durſt any Man take notice thereof? Or avouch, that he had ſeen thus much? Durſt he that took it in *Ireland*, deliver the ſame, where eſpecially he ſhould have done? Or they who received it in *England* (for it came to great Hands) uſe it to the benefit of their Princeſs and Country? No ſurely, For, if it had been but only ſuſpected, that they had ſeen ſuch a thing, it would have been as dangerous unto them, as it was to *Actæon* to have ſeen *Diana*, and her Maidens naked, whoſe Caſe is ſo common now in *England*, as nothing more, and ſo do the Examples of divers well declare, whoſe unfortunate knowledge of too many Secrets, hath brought 'em quickly to unfortunate ends.

For we hear of one *Salvater*, a Stranger, long uſed in great Myſteries of baſe Affairs, and diſhoneſt Actions, who afterwards, upon what Demerit I know not, ſuſtaining a hard Fortune, for being late with my Lord in his Study, well near until midnight (if I be rightly informed) went home to his Chamber, and the next Morning was found ſlain in his Bed. We hear alſo of one *Doughty* hanged in haſte by Captain *Drake* upon the Sea, and that by order (as is thought given before his depar-

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ture out of *England*, for that he was over privy to the Secrets of this good Earl.

There was alſo this laſt Summer paſt one *Gates* hanged at *Tyburn*, amongſt others, for Robbing of Carriers; which *Gates* had been lately Clerk of my Lord's Kitchin, and had laid out much Money of his own (as he ſaid) for my Lord's Proviſion, being alſo otherwiſe in ſo great Grace and Favour with his Lordſhip, as no Man living was thought to be more privy to his Secrets than this Man; whereupon alſo it is to be thought, that he preſumed the rather to commit the Robbery (for to ſuch doth my Lord's Favour extend much) and being apprehended and in danger for the ſame, he made his recourſe for Protection to his Honour (as the faſhion is) and that he might be born out as divers of leſs Merit had been by his Lordſhip, in more heinous Cauſes before him.

The good Earl anſwered his Servant and dear Privado courteouſly, and aſſured him of Life; however, for outward Shew, or Compliment, the Form of the Law might paſs againſt him.

But *Gates* ſeeing himſelf Condemned, and nothing now between his Head and the Halter, but the Word of the Magiſtrate, which might come in an Inſtant, when it would be too late to ſend to his Lord, remembring alſo the ſmall aſſurance of his ſaid Lord's Word, by his former dealings towards other Men, whereof this Man was too much privy, he thought good to ſollicite his Cauſe alſo by ſome others of his Friends, though not ſo puiſſant

puiſſant as his Lord and Maſter, who dealing indeed both diligently and effectually in his Affairs, found the matter more difficult a great deal, than either he or they had imagined; for that my Lord of *Leiceſter* was not only a Favourite, but a great haſtener of his Death underhand, and that with ſuch Care and Diligence, Vehemency and Unreſiſtable means, having the Law alſo on his ſide, there was no hope at all of his eſcaping: Which thing when *Gates* heard of, he eaſily believed; for the Experience he had of his Maſter's good Nature, ſaying, that he always miſtruſted the ſame, conſidering how much his Lordſhip was indebted unto him, and made privy alſo to his Lordſhip's foul Secrets: Which Secrets he would preſently have there offered in the face of all the World, but that he feared Torments, or ſpeedy Death with ſome extraordinary Cruelty, if he ſhould ſo have done. But he diſcloſed the ſame only to one Gentleman of Worſhip, whom he truſted ſpecially, whoſe Name I may not utter for ſome Cauſes (but it beginneth with H) I am in hope 'ere it be long, by means of a Friend of mine, to have a ſight of that Diſcourſe and Report of *Gates*, which hitherto I have not ſeen, nor ever ſpake with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I be well aſſured, that the whole matter paſſed in Subſtance as I have here recounted it.

Whereunto anſwered the Scholar, that in good faith, it were pity, that the Relation ſhould be loſt, for that it is very like that many rare things be declared therein, ſeeing it

is

is done by a Man ſo privy to the Affairs themſelves, wherein alſo he had been uſed as an Inſtrument.

I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or elſe my Friend ſhall fail me, howbeit not ſo ſoon as I would; for that he is in the Weſt-Country that ſhould procure it for me, and will not return for certain Months. But after I ſhall ſee him again, I will not leave him until he procure it for me, as he hath promiſed me.

Well (quoth the Scholar) but what is become of that Evidence found in *Ireland*, under my Lord's Hand, which no Man dare purſue, avouch or behold.

Truly (quoth the Gentleman) I am informed that it lyeth ſafely reſerved in good Cuſtody, to be brought forth and avouched, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God ſo to diſpoſe of her Majeſty's Heart, as to lend an indifferent Ear, as well to his Accuſers, as to himſelf in Judgment. Neither muſt you think, that this is ſtrange, nor that the Things be few which are in ſuch ſort reſerved in dark for the time to come, even amongſt great Perſonages, and of high Calling; for ſeeing the preſent State of his Power to be ſuch, and the Tempeſt of his Tyranny to be ſo ſtrong and boiſterous, as no Man may ſtand in the rage thereof without Peril; for that even from her Majeſty her ſelf, in the levity of her Princely Nature, he extorteth what he deſigneth, either by Fraud, Flattery, falſe Information, Requeſt, Pretence, or violent Importunity, to the overbearing of all whom he meaneth to oppreſs.

No

No marvel then, though many even of the beſt and faithfulleſt Subjects of the Land, do yield to the preſent times, and do keep ſilence in ſome matters, that otherwiſe they would take it for Duty to utter.

And in this kind it is not long ſithence a worſhipful and wiſe Friend of mine told me a Teſtimony in Secret, from the Mouth of as noble and grave a Counſellor as *England* hath enjoyed this many Hundred Years, I mean the late Lord Chamberlain, with whom my ſaid Friend being alone at his Houſe in *London*, not Twenty Days before his Death, conferred ſomewhat familiarly about theſe, and the like matters, as with a true Father of his Country and Commonwealth.

And after many Complaints in the behalf of divers, who had opened their griefs unto Counſellors, and ſaw, that no notice would be taken thereof, the ſaid Noble Man turning himſelf about ſomewhat from the Water (for he ſat near his Pond ſide, where he beheld the taking of a Pike, or Carp) ſaid to him, it is no marvel Sir, for who dare intermeddle himſelf in my Lord's Affairs? I will tell you (quoth he) in confidence betwixt you and me, there is as wiſe a Man, as grave and as faithful a Counſellor, as *England* breedeth (meaning thereby the Lord Treaſurer) who hath as much in his keeping of *Leiceſter*'s own Hand writing, as is ſufficient to hang him, if either he durſt preſent the ſame to her Majeſty, or her Majeſty do Juſtice when it ſhould be preſented.

But indeed (quoth he) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vain for any Man to ſtruggle with him.

Theſe were that Noble Man's Words, whereby you may conſider, whether my Lord of *Leiceſter* be ſtrong in Counſel this day or no, and whether his Fortification be ſufficient in that place. But now if out of the Councel, we ſhall turn but our Ears into the Country abroad, we ſhall find as good Fortification alſo there, as we have peruſed already in Court and Counſel, and ſhall well perceive that this Man's Plot is no fond or undiſcreet Plot, but excellently well grounded, and ſuch as in all Proportions hath his due Correſpondence.

Conſider then the chief and principal parts of this Land for Martial Affairs, for Uſe and Commodity of Arms, for Strength, for Opportunity, for Liberty of the People, as dweling fartheſt off from the Prince; ſuch Parts, I ſay, as are fitteſt for ſudden Enterprizes, without danger of interception; as the North, the Weſt, the Country of *Wales*, the Iſlands round about the Land, and ſundry other Places within the ſame, are they not all this day at his diſpoſition? Are they not all by his Procurement in the Hands of his Friends and Allies? In *York* is Preſident the Man that of all other is fitteſt for that Place, that is, his neareſt in Affinity, his deareſt in Friendſhip, the head of his Faction, and open Competitor of the Scepter.

In *Warwick* is Captain his Wive's Uncle, moſt aſſured to himſelf and *Huntington*, as

one who at convenient time may as much advance their Deſignments, as any Man in *England.*

In *Wales* the chief Authority from the Prince, is in his own Brother-in-law, but amongſt the People of (natural Affection) is in the Earl of *Pembrooke*, who both by the Marriage of his Siſter's Daughter, is his Allie, and by Dependence is known to be wholly at his Diſpoſition. The Weſt part of *England* is under *Bedford*, a Man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans Faction.

In *Ireland* was Governour of late the principal Inſtrument appointed for their purpoſes, both in reſpect of his Heart and Affection towards their Deſignments, as alſo of ſome ſecret Diſcontentment, which he hath towards her Majeſty and the State preſent, for certain hard Speeches, and in great Recompences, as he pretendeth, but indeed for that he is known to be of Nature Fiery, and impatient of ſtay, foreſeeing that common on foot, which the next Competitors for their gain have painted out to him, and ſuch others, more pleaſant then the terreſtrial Paradiſe it ſelf.

This then is the *Hector*, this is the *Ajex*, appointed for the Enterprize when the time ſhall come, this forſooth muſt be another *Richard* of *Warwick*, to gain the Crown of *Henry* the 9th of the Houſe of *York*, as the other *Richard* did put down *Henry* the 6th of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and placed *Edward* the 4th, from whom *Huntington* deriveth his Title—Therefore this Man is neceſſarily to be

be entertained from time to time; as we now ſee he is, in ſome Charge and Martial Action, to the end his Experience, Power and Credit may grow the more, and ſo be able at the time to have Soldiers at his Commandment.

And for the former charge which he held of late in *Ireland*, as this Man had not been called away, but for execution of ſome other Secret, purpoſe for advancement of their deſignments, ſo be well aſſured, that for the time to come, it is to be furniſhed again with a ſure and faſt Friend to *Leiceſter*, and that Faction.

In the Iſle of *Wight*, I grant that *Leiceſter* hath loſt a great Friend, and a truſty Servant by the Death of Captain *Horſey*, but yet the matter is ſupplyed by the Succeſſion of another, no leſs aſſured unto him, then the former, or rather more, through the band of Affinity by his Wife

The Town Iſlands of *Gerſey* and *Guernſey*, are in the poſſeſſion of Two Friends, and moſt obliged Dependents, the one by reaſon he is exceedingly addicted to the Puritane Proceedings, the other as now being joyned unto him by the Marriage of Mrs. *Beſſe* his Wives Siſter, both Daughters to Sir *Francis*, or at the leaſt to my Lady *Knowles*, and ſo become a Rival Companion and Brother, who was before (though truſty) yet but his Servant. And theſe are the chief Keys and Fortreſſes, and Bulwarks within, without, and about the Realm; which my Lord of *Leiceſter* poſſeſſing (as he doth) may be aſſured of the Body within, where notwithſtanding,

ſtanding, as hath been ſhewed, he wanteth no due preparation for Strength, having at his Diſpoſition, beſides all Aids and other Helps, ſpecified before, her Majeſty's Horſe and Stables, by Intereſt of his own Office of his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*, the Tower of *London*, and the Treaſure therein, by the Dependence of Sir *Owen Hopton*, his ſworn Servant, as ready to receive and furniſh him with the whole, if occaſion ſerved, as one of his Predeceſſors was to receive his Father in King *Edward*'s Days, for the like effect againſt her Majeſty and Siſter.

And in the City of *London* it ſelf, what a Man at a pinch could do, by the help of ſome of the Principal Men and chief Leaders, and as it were Commanders there, and by the beſtirring of *Fleetwood* his made Recorder, and other ſuch his Inſtruments; as alſo in all other Towns, Ports and Cities of Importance, by ſuch of his own ſetting up, as he hath placed there to ſerve his Deſignments, and Juſtices of the Peace with others, that in moſt Shires do wear his Liveries, and are at his appointment, the ſimpleſt within this Realm doth conſider. Whereunto if you add his own Forces and Furniture, which he hath in *Killingworth* Caſtle, and other Places; as alſo the Forces of *Huntingdon* in particular, with their Friends, Followers, Allies and Co-partners you ſhall find that they are not behind in their preparations for my Lord of *Huntingdon*'s forwardneſs in the Cauſe (quoth I) there is no Man I think which maketh doubt, marry for his private Forces, albeit they may be very good for any thing I do know to the contrary eſpeci-

eſpecially at his Houſe within Twenty five Miles of *Killingworth*, where one told me, that ſome years paſt, that he had Furniture ready for Five thouſand Men; yet do I not think but they are far inferior to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who is taken to have exceſſive, and that in divers Places. And as for the laſt Caſtle mentioned by you, there are Men of good Intelligence, and no ſmall Judgment, who report that in the ſame he hath enough to furniſh Ten thouſand good Soldiers of all things neceſſary both for Horſe and Man, beſides all other Munition, Armour and Artillery, whereof great ſtore was brought thither under pretence of Triumph, when her Majeſty was there, and never as yet carried back again, beſides great abundance of Corn there laid up (as is ſaid) ſufficient for any great Exploit to be done within the Realm. And I know that the Eſtimation of this Place was ſuch amongſt many divers years ago, as when at a time, her Majeſty lay dangerouſly ſick, and like to die at *Hampton-Court*; a certain Gentleman of the Country came to my Lord of *Huntingdon*, and told him, that foraſmuch as he took his Lordſhip to be next in Succeſſion to her Majeſty, he would offer a mean of great help, for compaſſing of his purpoſe after the deceaſe of her Majeſty, which was the poſſeſſion of *Killingworth* Caſtle; for at that time Theſe Two Earls were not very great Friends, nor Confederates together, and that being had, he ſhewed to the Earl the great Furniture and Wealth which thereby he ſhould poſſeſs for purſuit of his purpoſe.

The Propoſition was not unliked, and the Matter eſteemed of great Importance, and conſequently received with great thanks.

But yet afterwards her Majeſty by the great Providence of God recovering again, letted the Execution of the Bargain, and my Lord of *Huntingdon* having to joyn Amity with *Leiceſter*, had more reſpect to his own Commodity, then his Friend's Security (as commonly in ſuch Perſons and Caſes it falleth out) and ſo diſcovered the whole device unto him, who forgot not after from time to time to plague the Deviſer by ſecret means, until he had brought him unto that poor Eſtate, as all the World ſeeth, though many Men be not acquainted with the true cauſe of this his Diſgrace and bare Fortune.

To this anſwered the *Lawyer*: In good faith Gentlemen, you open great Myſteries unto me, which either I knew not, or conſidered not ſo particularly before, and no marvel, for that my Profeſſion and Exerciſe of Law, reſtraineth me from much Company-keeping, and when I happen to be amongſt ſome that could tell much therein, I dare not either ask, or hear, if any of himſelf began to talk, leaſt afterwards the Speech coming to light, I be fetched over the Coals (as the Proverb is) for the ſame under the pretence of another thing.

But you who are not ſuſpected for Religion have much greater Priviledge in ſuch matters, both to hear and ſpeak again, when Men of my Eſtate dare not: Only this I knew before, that throughout all *England* my Lord of

of *Leiceſter* is taken for the *Dominus fac totum*, whoſe excellence is above all others, infinite, whoſe Authority is abſolute, whoſe Commandment is dreadful, whoſe diſlike is dangerous, and whoſe Favour is Omnipotent, and for his Will, though it be ſeldom Law, yet always is his Power above Law; and therefore we Lawyers in all Caſes brought unto us, have as great regard unto his Inclination, as Aſtronomers have to the Planet Dominant, or as Seamen have to the North-Pole For as they that ſail, do direct their Courſe to the ſituation and Direction of that Star which guideth them at the Pole: And as Aſtronomers who make Prognoſtication, and do foretel things to come according to the aſpect of the Planet Dominant, or bearing rule for the time: So we do guide our Clients Bark, and do Prognoſticate what ſhall enſue of his Caſe by the aſpect, and inclination of my Lord of *Leiceſter*: And for that reaſon, as ſoon as ever we hear a Caſe propoſed, our Cuſtom is to ask what Party my Lord of *Leiceſter* is like to favour in the matter; for in all matters likely of importance he hath a part, or what may be gathered of his Inclination therein, and according to that we give a gueſs, more or leſs, what end will enſue.

But this my Maſters, is from the purpoſe, and therefore returning to our former Speech again, I do ſay, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular proviſion of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and his Friends, in ſuch, and ſuch Places; yet ſeeing him accounted Lord

General over all the whole Realm, and to have at his Commandment all the ſeveral Commodities and Forces pertaining to her Majeſty, which you have mentioned before, and ſo many more as be in the Realm, and not mentioned; in fine, he having all, I could not but account him as he is a potent Prince of our State, for all Furniture needful for Defence or Offence, or rather the only Monarch of our Nobility, who hath ſufficient of himſelf to plunge his Prince, if he ſhould be diſcontented, eſpecially for his abundance of Money, which by the Wiſe is termed the ſinews of *Martial* Actions: Wherein, by all *Men's* Judgments, he is better furniſhed at this day, than ever any Subject of our Land, either hath been hitherto, or likely may be hereafter.

Inſomuch, that being my ſelf in the laſt *Parliament*, when the *Matter* was moved for the Grant of a Subſidy, after that, one of Her Majeſties Subjects had given very good Reaſons why her Highneſs was in want of *Money*, and conſequently needed the Aſſiſtance of Her Faithful Subjects therein: Another that ſat next me of good Account, ſaid in my Ear ſecretly, theſe Reaſons I do well allow, I am contented in *Money*; but yet for Her *Majeſties* Need I could make anſwer, as one anſwered once the *Emperor Tiberius* in the like Caſe and Cauſe: *Abunde ei pecuniam fore, ſi a liberto ſuo in ſocietatem reciperet*: That Her Majeſty ſhould have Money enough, if one of her Highneſs's Servants would vouchſafe to make her partaker with him; meaning my

my Lord of *Leiceſter*, whoſe Treaſure muſt needs in one reſpect be greater than that of Her Majeſties, for that he layeth up whatſoever he getteth, and his Expences he caſteth upon the Purſe of his Princeſs.

For that (ſaid the Gentleman) whether he do or no, it importeth little to the Matter, ſeeing both that which he ſpendeth, and that which he hoardeth is truly and properly his Princeſs Treaſure, and ſeeing he hath ſo many ways of Gaining, what ſhould he make account of his private Expences? If he lay out one for a thouſand, what can that make him the poorer? He that hath ſo Goodly Lands, Poſſeſſions, Signiories, and rich Officers of his own, as he is known to have; he that hath ſo ſpecial Favour and Authority with the Prince, as he can obtain whatſoever he liſteth to demand; he that hath his Part and Portion in all Suits beſides that paſs by Grace, or elſe for the moſt part are ended by Law; he that may cope and change what Lands he liſteth with Her Majeſty, deſpoil them of all their Woods, and other Commodities, and rack them afterwards to the utmoſt Penny, and then return the ſame ſo Tenter-ſtretched, and bare, into Her Majeſties Hands by a freſh Exchange, Rent for Rent, for other Lands never exhanaced before; he that poſſeſſeth ſo many Gainful Licenſes to himſelf of Wine, and Oil, and Currans, Cloath and Velvets, with his new Office or Licenſe of Alienation, moſt pernicious under the Common wealth, as he uſeth the ſame, with many other the like, which were ſufficient

cient to inrich whole Towns, Corporations, Countries and Common wealths: He that hath the Art to make Gainful to himſelf every Offence, Diſpleaſure, falling out of Her Majeſty with him, and every angry Countenance caſt upon him; he that hath his ſhare in all Offices of great Profit, and holdeth an abſolute Monopoly of the ſame; he that diſpoſeth at his Will the Eccleſiaſtical Livings of the Realm, maketh Biſhops none but ſuch as will do Reaſon, or of his Chaplains whom he liſteth, and retaineth to himſelf ſo much of the Living as liketh him beſt; he that ſweepeth away the Glebel and from ſo many Benefices through the Land, and compoundeth with the Parſon for the reſt; he that ſo ſcowreth the *Univerſities* and *Colleges*, where he is Chancellor, and ſelleth both Headſhips and Scholars Places, and all other Offices, Rooms and Dignities, that by Art or Violence may yield many; he that maketh Title to what Land, or other thing he pleaſeth, and denieth the Parties to compound for the ſame; he that taketh the whole Foreſts, Commons, Woods and Paſtures to himſelf, compelling the Tenants to pay him new Rent, and what he ceſſeth; he that vexeth and oppreſſeth whomſoever he liſt, taketh from any what he liſt, and maketh his own Claim, Suit, and End as he liſt, he that ſelleth his Favour with the Prince, both abroad in Foreign Countries, and at home, and ſetteth the Price thereof, what himſelf will demand, he that hath, and doth all this, and beſides this hath infinite Preſents daily brought unto him

of

of great Value, both of Jewels and Plate, and all kind of Furniture and ready Coin: This Man, I ſay, may eaſily bear his own Expences, and yet lay up ſufficiently alſo to weary his Prince when need ſhall require.

You have ſaid much, Sir (quoth the *Lawyer*) and ſuch Matter as toucheth nearly Her Majeſty and the Common-wealth, and yet, in my Conſcience, if I were to plead for my Lord at the Bar, I could not tell which of all theſe Members to deny: But for that you mention in the laſt part of his gaining by Her Majeſties Favour both at home and abroad, touching his Home-gain it is evident, ſeeing all that he hath is gotten only by the Opinion of Her Majeſties Favour towards him, which cauſeth many Men to repair to him with fat Preſents, rather for that they ſuppoſe he may by his Favour do them hurt, if he feel not their Reward, than for that they hope he will labour any thing in their Affairs. You remember, I doubt not, the Story of him that offered his Prince a great Yearly Rent to have but this Favour only, that he might come every Day in open Audience, and ſay in his Ear, God ſave Your Majeſty, aſſuring himſelf, and by the Opinion of Confidence and ſecret Favour, which hereby the People would conceive to be in the Prince towards him, he would eaſily get up his Rent again double told. Wherefore my Lord of *Leiceſter* receiving daily from Her Majeſty greater Tokens of Grace and Favour, than this, and himſelf being no ill Merchant to make his own Bargain, for the beſt of his Com-

Commodity, cannot but gain exceedingly at home by his Favour. And for his Lucre abroad upon the ſame Cauſe, I leave to other Men to conceive, what it may be, ſince the beginning of Her Majeſties Reign, the Times whereof, and the Condition of all *Chriſtendom* hath been ſuch, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have been conſtrained at one time or other, to ſue to her Highneſs for Aid, Grace or Favour, in all which Suits Men uſe not to forget, as you know, the Parties moſt able by their Credit to further, or let the ſame. In Particular, only this I can ſay, that I have heard of ſundry *French-men*, that at ſuch time as the Treaty was between *France* and *England* for the Delivery of *Callis* unto us again in the firſt Year of her Majeſties Reign that now is, when the *French-men* were in great Diſtreſs and Miſery, and King *Philip* refuſed abſolutely to make Peace with them except *Callis* were reſtored to *Engl.* (whether for that purpoſe he had now delivered the *French* Hoſtages) the *French-men* do report, I ſay, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* ſtood then in great ſtead of their neceſſity for his Reward (which you may imagine was not ſmall for a thing of ſuch importance) and became a Suitor, that Peace might be concluded, with the Releaſe of *Callis* to the *French-men*, which was one of the moſt impious Facts, to ſay the Truth, that ever could be deviſed againſt the Common-wealth.

A ſmall matter in him (quoth the Gentleman) for in this he did no more but as Chriſt ſaid of the *Jaws*, that they filled up the meaſure of their Father's Sins. For if you Read the Story of King *Edward*'s Time, you ſhall find it moſt evident, that this Man's Father before him ſold *Bulloigne* to the *French* by like Treachery: For it was delivered up upon Compoſition without Neceſſity or Reaſon, the twenty firſt of *April*, in the fourth Year of King *Edward* the *6th.* when he, I mean Duke *Dudley*, had now put in the *Tower* the Lord Protector, and thruſt out of the Council the Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, and ſo invaded the whole Government himſelf, to ſell, ſpoil and diſpoſe all at his own pleaſure.

Wherefore this is but Natural to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, by deſcent to make Merchandize of the State, for his Grandfather *Edmund* alſo was ſuch a kind of Man.

An Evil Race of Merchants (quoth the *Lawer*) for the Common-wealth, but yet, Sir, I pray you, ſaid he, expound unto me ſomewhat more at large, the nature of theſe Licenſes that you named, as alſo the changing of Lands with her Majeſty, if you can ſet it down any plainer, for they ſeem to be things of exquiſite Gain, eſpecially his way of gaining by offending her Majeſty, or by her Highneſs's Offence towards him, for it ſeemeth to be a Device above all Skill or Reaſon.

Not ſo (quoth the Gentleman) for you know that every falling out muſt have an Attonement again, whereof he being ſure, by the many

many and puiſſant means of his Friends in Court, as I have before ſhewed, who ſhall not give her Majeſty reſt until it be done, than for this Attonement, and in perfect Reconciliation on her Majeſties part, ſhe muſt grant my Lord ſome Suit or other, which he will always have ready provided for that purpoſe, and this Suit ſhall be well able to reward his Friends, that laboured for his Reconcilement, and leave alſo a good remainder for himſelf, and that is now ſo ordinary a practiſe with him, as all the Realm obſerveth the ſame, and diſdaineth, that her Majeſty ſhould ſo unworthily be abuſed. For if her Highneſs fall not out with him ſo often, as he deſireth to gain this way, then he picketh ſome quarrel or other to ſhew himſelf diſcontented with her, ſo that one way or other, this gainful Reconciliation muſt be made, and that often for his Commodity.

The like Art he exerciſeth by inviting her Majeſty to his Banquets and to his Houſes, where if ſhe come, ſhe muſt grant in Suits ten times as much as the Charges of all amounts to. So that *Robin* playeth the Broker in all his Affairs, and maketh the uttermoſt Penny of her Majeſty every way.

Now for the Charge of Lands, I think I have been reaſonably plain before, yet for your fuller ſatisfaction, you ſhall underſtand his further Dealing therein to be of this ſort. Beſides the good Lands, an of ancient Poſſeſſion of the Crown procured of her Majeſties

hands,

lands, and uſed, as before is declared, he uſeth the ſame Trick for his worſt Lands he poſſeſſeth any way, whether they come unto him by Extort Means and plain Oppreſſion, or through Maintenance or broken Titles, or by Couzening of ſimple Gentlemen to make him their Heir, or by what hard Title, or Unhoneſt Means ſoever (for he practiſeth ſtore of ſuch, and thinketh little of the Reckoning) after he hath tried them likewiſe to the uttermoſt Touch, and let them out to ſuch as ſhall gain but little by the Bargain, then goeth he and changeth the ſame with her Majeſty for the beſt Lands he can pick out of the Crown, to the end that thereby he may both inforce her Majeſty to the Defence of his bad Titles, and himſelf fill his Coffers with the Fines, and utmoſt Commodity of both the Lands.

Now, touching his Licences, thus they ſtand, firſt, he got Licences for certain great Numbers of Cloaths to be tranſported out of this Land, which might have been an undoing to the Merchants Subjects, if they had not redeemed the ſame with great Sums of Money, ſo that it redounded greatly to the Damage of all Occupiers about that kind of Commodity. After that, he had the Grant for carrying over of Barrel-ſtaves, and of ſome other ſuch like Wares. Then procured he a Monopoly for bringing in of Sweet Wines, Oils, Currants, and the like, whereof the Gain is ineſtimable. He alſo had the Forfeit of all Wine that was to be drawn above the old ordinary Price, with Licence to give

give Authority to ſell above that Price, wherein Captain *Horſey* was his Inſtrument. By which means it is incredible, what Treaſure and Yearly Rent was gathered throughout the Land. To this add, now his Licences of Silks and Velvets, which only were enough to enrich the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, if they were decayed, as I heard often divers Merchants affirm. And his Licence of Alienation of Lands, which as in part I have opened before, ſerveth him not only to exceſſive Gain, but alſo for an extream Scourge to plague whom he liſteth in the Realm: For, ſeeing that without this his Licenſe no Man can buy or ſell, paſs or alienate any Land, that any ways may be drawn to that Tenure, as holden in chief of the Prince, as commonly now moſt Lands may, he calleth into queſtion whatſoever liketh him beſt, be it never ſo clear. And under this Colour, not only Enricheth himſelf without meaſure, but revengeth himſelf alſo where he will without all Order.

Here the *Lawyer* ſtood ſtill a pretty while, biting the Lip, as if he were aſtoniſhed, and ſaid; Verily, I have not heard ſo many and ſo apparent things, or ſo odious of any Man that ever lived in a Common-wealth, and I greatly marvel at my Lord of *Leiceſter*, that his Grandfather's Fortune doth not move him much, who loſt his Head in the beginning of King *Henry* the 8*th*'s Days, for much leſs and fewer Offences in the ſame kind committed in the time of King *Henry* the 7*th*. for he was thought to be the Inventer of theſe Powlings and

and Moleſtations wherewith the People were burthened in the latter Days of that King; and yet had he great Pretence of Reaſon to alledge for himſelf, in that theſe Actions were made to the King's uſe, and not to his, albeit, no doubt, his own Gain was alſo therein. Maſter *Stow* writeth in his Chronicle, that in the time of his Impriſonment in the *Tower*, he Wrote a notable Book, Entituled, *The Tree of the Common-wealth*, which ſaid Book, the ſaid *Stow* ſaith, that he hath delivered to my Lord of *Leiceſter* many Years ago, and if the ſaid Book be ſo notable, as Mr. *Stow* affirmeth, I marvel that his Lordſhip in ſo many Years doth not Publiſh the ſame for the Glory of his Anceſtors.

It may be (ſaid the Gentleman) that the Secrets therein contained be ſuch, as it ſeemeth good to my Lord of *Leiceſter* to uſe them only himſelf, and to gather the Fruit of that Tree into his Houſe alone. For if the Tree of the *Common-wealth* in *Edmund Dudley's* Book be the Prince, and his Race, and the Fruit to be gathered from that Tree be Riches, Honors, Dignities and Preferments, then, no doubt, but as the Writer, *Edmund* was cunning therein, ſo have his two Scholars, *John* and *Robert*, well ſtudied, and practiſed the ſame, or rather they have exceeded and far paſſed the Authors himſelf. The one of them gathering ſo eagerly, and with ſuch vehemency, as he was like to have broken down the main Boughs for greedineſs; the other yet plucking and heaping ſo faſt to himſelf, and his Friends, as it is, and may

juſtly be doubted, that when they have cropped all they can from the Tree, left them by their Father *Edmund* (I mean the Race of King *Henry* the *7th.*) then will they pluck up the Stump by the Roots as unprofitable, and pitch in his place another Tree, that is the Line of *Huntingdon*, that may begin to feed a new with freſh Fruits again, and ſo for a time content their Appetites, until of Gatherers they become Trees, which is their Final Purpoſe to feed themſelves at their own Diſcretion. And howſoever this be, it cannot be denied, but that *Edmund Dudley*'s Brood have learned by this Book, and other means, to be more cunning Gatherers, than ever their Progenitor was that made the Book. Firſt, for that he made profeſſion to gather for his Prince, though wickedly, and theſe Men make Demonſtration that they have gathered for themſelves, and that with much more Iniquity. Secondly, For that *Edmund Dudley*, though he got himſelf near about the Tree, yet was he content to ſtand on the Ground and ſave himſelf from the Tree, as Commodity was offered; but his Children not eſteeming that ſafe gathering, will needs mount a loft upon the Tree, pluck, crop and rifle at their pleaſure: And as in this ſecond Point, the Son, *John Dudley* was more ſubtle than *Edmund* the Father. So in a third Point, the Nephew, *Robert Dudley* is more crafty than they both: For that he ſeeing the Evil Succeſs of theſe two, that went before him, he hath provided to gather ſo much in convenient time, and to make himſelf therewith

ſo

so fat and strong, wherein the other two failed, as he will never be in danger more to be called to account for the same.

In good faith (said the *Lawyer*) I thank you heartily for this pleasant Discourse upon *Edmund Dudley*'s Tree of the *Common wealth*, and by that Opinion, my Lord of *Leicester* is the most Learned of all his Kindred, and a very cunning Logician indeed, that can draw for himself so commodious Conclusions out of the perilous Premises, of his Progenitors.

No marvel (quoth the Gentleman) for that his Lordship is Master of Arts in *Oxford*, and Chancellor besides of the same *University*, where he hath store, as you know, of many fine Wits, and good Logicians at his Commandment, and where he learneth, not only the Rules, and Art of Cunning Gathering, but also the very Practise, as I touched before, seeing there is no one *College* or other thing of Commodity within that Place, where thence he hath not pulled whatsoever was possible to be gathered, either by Art or by Violence.

Touching *Oxford* (said I) for that I am an *University* Man my self, and have both Acquaintance with divers Students of the other *University*, I can tell you enough, but in fine, all tendeth to this Conclusion, that by his Chancellorship is cancelled almost all hope of Good in that *University*, and by his Protection it is like to come to Destruction. And surely, if there were no other thing to declare the odds and difference betwixt them

The Lord Treasurer, and our Chancellor, whom he cannot bear; for that every way he seeketh to pass him in all Honor and Vertue, it were sufficient to behold the present State of the two *Universities*, whereof they are Heads and Governors. For our own, I will not say much, least perhaps I seem partial, but let the thing speak for it self. Consider of the Fruit of the Garden, and thereby you may judge of the Gardiners, Diligence: Look upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of *England*, and see where principally they have received their Furniture for Advancement of the Gospel; and on the contrary-side, look upon the Seminaries of *Papists* at *Rome* and *Rheines*, look upon the *Colleges* of *Jesuits*, and other Companies of *Papists* beyond the Seas, and see where hence they are specially fraught. The *Priests* and *Jesuits*, here Executed within the Land, and other that remain, either in Prison or Abroad in Corners, are they not all in a manner of that *University*; I speak not to the Disgrace of any Good that remains there, or that have issued out thence into the Lord's Vineyard, but for the most part that are of this our Time, have they not either gone beyond the Seas, or left their Places for Discontentment in Religion, or else become Serving-men, or followed the bare Name of Law or Physick, whithout profiting greatly therein, or furthering the Service of God's Church, or their *Common-wealth*? And where hence, I pray you, issueth all this, but by reason the chief Governor thereof is an Atheist himself, and useth the Place only for Gain and Spoil,

for

for here hence it cometh, that all good Order and Diſcipline is diſſolved in that Place; the Fervor of Study extinguiſhed, the Publick Lectures abandoned (I mean for the moſt part) the Tavern and ordinary Tables frequented, the Apparel of Students grown Monſtrous, and the Statutes and good Ordinances, both of the *Univerſity* and every *College* and *Hall* in private, broken and infringed at my Lord's good Pleaſure, without reſpect, either of Oath, Cuſtom or Reaſon to the contrary.

The Heads and Offices are put in and out at his only Diſcretion, and the Scholars Places either ſold, or diſpoſed by theſe his Servants and Followers. Nothing can be had there now without preſent Money, it is a common buying and ſelling of Places in that *Univerſity*, as of Horſes in *Smithfield*: Whereby the good and Vertuous are kept out, and Companions thruſt in, fit to ſerve his Lordſhip afterwards in all Affairs that ſhall occur. And as for Leaſes and Farms, Woods, Paſtures, Parſonages, Benefices or the like, which belong any way to any part of the *Univerſity* to Lett or Beſtow, theſe his Lorſhip and his Servants have ſo fleeced, ſhorn and ſcraped already, that there remaineth little to feed upon hereafter.

Albeit, he wanteth not ſtill his Spies and Intelligencers in the Place, to advertiſe him from time to time, when any little new Morſel is offered. And the principal Inſtruments, which for his Purpoſe he hath had

there before this, have been two Phyſicians, *Bayley* and *Culpepper*, both known *Papiſts* a little while ago, but now juſt of *Galen*'s Religion, and ſo much the fitter for my Lord's Humour; for his Lordſhip doth always covet to be furniſhed with certain choſen Men about him for divers Affairs, as theſe two *Galeniſts* for Agents in the *Univerſity*. *Dee* and *Allen*, two Atheiſts, for Figuring and Contriving: *Julio*, the *Italian*, and *Loper* the *Jew*, for Poiſoning, and for the Art of Deſtroying Children in Womens Bellies. *Darney's* for Murthering, and *Digby's* for Bawds, and the like in other Occupations which his Lordſhip exerciſeth.

Wherefore to return unto the Speech where we began, moſt clear it is, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* hath Means to gain and gather alſo by the *Univerſity*, as well as by the Country abroad, wherein he beareth himſelf ſo abſolute a Lord, as if he were their King, and not their Chancellor. Nay, far more than if he were their general and particular Founder of all the *Colleges*, and other Houſes of the *Univerſity*, no Man daring to contrary or interrupt the leaſt Word or Signification of his Will, but with his extream Danger: Which is a Proceeding more fit for *Phalaris* the Tyrant, or ſome Governor in *Tartary*, than for a Chancellor of a Learned *Univerſity*.

To this (anſwered the *Lawyer*) for my Lord's Wrath towards ſuch as will not ſtand to his Judgment and Opinion, I can my ſelf be

be a ſufficient Witneſs, who having had often occaſion to deal for Compoſition of Matters betwixt his Lordſhip and others, have ſeen by experience, that always they have ſped beſt, who ſtood leaſt in Contention with him, whatſoever their Caſe were. For as a great and violent River, the more it is ſtopped and contraried, the more it riſeth and ſwelleth big, and in the end dejecteth with more force the thing that made reſiſtance: So his Lordſhip being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realm, and accuſtomed to have his Will in all things, cannot bear to be croſſed and reſiſted by any Man, though it were in his own neceſſary Defence.

Hereof I have ſeen Examples in the Cauſes of *Snowden Forreſt* in *Wales*. of *Denbeigh*, of *Killingworth*, of *Drayton*, and others, where the Parties that had intereſt, or thought themſelves wronged, had been happy, if they had yielded at the firſt to his Lordſhip's Pleaſure, without further queſtion, for then they had eſcaped much Trouble, Charges, Diſpleaſure and Vexation, which by reſiſtance they incurred to their great Ruine, and loſs of Life to ſome, and in the end were fain alſo to ſubmit themſelves to his Will, with far worſe Conditions, than in the beginning were offered unto them, which thing was pitiful indeed to behold, but yet ſuch is my Lord's Diſpoſition.

Poor Men reſiſting Warwick's *Incloſure in* Northal, *were hanged for his Pleaſure, by* Leiceſter's *Authority.*

A noble Diſpoſition (quoth the Gentleman) that I muſt give him my Coat if he

demand the ſame, and that quickly, alſo for fear, leaſt if I ſtagger and make doubt thereof, he compel me to yield both Coat and Dublet in performance of my Stay. I have read of ſome ſuch Tyrants abroad in the World, marry, their End was always according to their Life, as it is very like it will be alſo in this Man, for that there is very ſmall hope of his Ammendment, and God paſſeth not over commonly ſuch Matters unpuniſhed in this Life, as well as in the Life to come.

But I pray you, Sir, ſeeing the Motion is now made of the former Oppreſſions ſo much talked of throughout the Realm, that you will take the pains to explain the Subſtance therof unto me.

For, albeit, in general, every Man doth know the ſame, and in Heart doth deteſt the Tyranny thereof, yet we abroad in the Country, do not underſtand it ſo well and diſtinctly as you that be *Lawyers*, who have ſeen and underſtood the whole Proceſs of the ſame.

Leiceſter, Lord of Denbeigh, and his Oppreſſion there.

The Caſe of *Killingworth* and *Denbeigh* (ſaid the Lawyer) are much alike in matter, and manner of Proceeding, though different in time, place and importance: For that the Lordſhip of *Denbeigh* in North-*Wales* being given unto him by her Majeſty, a great while ago, at the beginning of his riſing, (which is a Lordſhip of ſingular great Importance in that Country, having as I have heard well near 200 Worſhipful Gentlemen Free holders to the ſame) the Tenants of the

Place

Place, considering the present state of things, and having learned the hungry disposition of their new Lord, made a common Purse of 2000 *l.* to present him withal, at his first entrance; which though he received (as he refuseth nothing) yet accounted he the same of small effect for satisfaction of his Appetite, and therefore applyed himself, not only to make the utmost that he could by Leases, and such like ways of Commodity, but also would needs inforce the Freeholders to raise their old Rent from 250 *l.* a year, or thereabouts; at which rate he had received the same in gift from her Majesty unto Eight or Nine Hundred Pounds by the Year, for that he had found (forsooth) and old Record (as he saith) whereby he could prove that in Ancient time long past, that Lordship had yeilded so much Rent, and therefore he now would inforce the present Tenants to make so much again upon their Lands, which they thought was against all Reason for them to do; but my Lord *per* force would have it so, and in the end compelled them to yeild to his Will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Country about.

The Manner of Killingworth, and Leicester's oppressions there.

The like Proceedings he used with the Tenants about *Killingworth*, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift of 24 *l.* Yearly Rent, or thereabouts, hath made it better now then 500 *l.* by Year by an old Record also found by great fortune in a Hole of the Wall, as it is given out (for he hath singular good luck always in finding out Records for his purpose) by verture whereof

of he hath taken from his Tenants round about their Lands, Woods, Paſtures and Commons to make himſelf Parks, Chaſes and other Commodities therewith, to the Subverſion of many a good Family, which was maintained there before this Devourer ſet foot in that Country.

The Caſe of Snowden *Foreſt moſt pitiful.*

But the matter of *Snowden* Foreſt doth paſs all the reſt, both for Cunning and Cruelty; the Tragedy whereof was this: He had learned by his Intelligences abroad (whereof he hath great ſtore in every part of the Realm) that there was a goodly ancient Foreſt in North-*Wales*, which hath moſt infinite Borders about the ſame; for it lyeth in the midſt of the Country, beginning at the Hills of *Snowden* (whereof it hath its Name) in *Carnarvanſhire*, and reacheth every way towards divers other Shires.

When my Lord heard of this, he entred preſently into the conceit of a ſingular great Prey, and going to her Majeſty, ſignified that her Highneſs was oftentimes abuſed by the encroaching of ſuch as dwelt upon the Foreſts, which was neceſſarily to he reſtrained.

And therefore beſeeched her Majeſty to beſtow on him the Incroachments only which he ſhould be able to find out upon the Foreſt of *Snowden*; which was granted: And thereupon he choſe out Commiſſioners fit for the purpoſe, and ſent them into *Wales*, with the like Commiſſion, as a certain Emperor was wont to give his Magiſtrates, when they departed from him to Govern, as *Suetonius* writeth,

writeth, *Scitis quid velim, & quibus opus habeo*, you know what I would have, and what I have need of; which recommendation theſe Commiſſioners taking to Heart omitted no diligence in execution of the ſame. And ſo going into *Wales*, by ſuch means as they uſed, by ſetting one Man to accuſe another, brought quickly all the Country round about in 3 or 4 Shires, within the Compaſs of Foreſt Ground, and ſo entred upon the ſame for my Lord of *Leiceſter*.

An old tyrannical Commiſſion

Whereupon the People being amazed, and expecting, what order my Lord himſelf would take therein; his Lordſhip was ſo far off from refuſing any part of that which his Commiſſioners had preſented, and offered him, as he would yet ſtretch the Foreſt beyond the Seas, into the Iſle of *Angleſey*, and make that alſo within the Compaſs and Bounds.

A ridiculous demonſtration of exceſſive Avarice.

Which when the Commonalty ſaw, and that they profited nothing by their complaining, and crying out of this Tyranny, they appointed to ſend ſome number of themſelves to *London*, to make Supplication to the Prince, and ſo they did, chooſing out for that purpoſe a Dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Country of *Lyne*, to deal for the whole, who coming to *Lond.* and exhibiting a moſt humble ſupplication to her Majeſty for Redreſs of their oppreſſion, received anſwer by the procurement of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, that they ſhould have Juſtice if the Commonalty would return home to their Houſes, and the Gentlemen remain here to ſollicite the Cauſe; which as ſoon as they had yeilded

ed unto, the Gentlemen were all taken, and caſt into Priſon, and there kept for a great ſpace; and afterwards were ſent down to *Ludlow* (as the place moſt eminent of all the Countrys) there to wear Paper of Perjury, and receive other Puniſhments of Infamy for their Complaining: Which Puniſhments, notwithſtanding afterwards, upon great ſuit of the Parties, and their Friends were turned into great Fines of Money, which they were conſtrained to pay; and yet beſides to agree alſo with my Lord of *Leiceſter* for their own Lands, acknowledging them to be his and ſo to buy them of him again: By Reaſon whereof not only theſe private Gentlemen, but all the whole Country thereabouts, was, and is, in manner utterly undone.

And the participation of this Injury reacheth ſo far and wide, and is ſo general in theſe parts, as you ſhall ſcarce find a Man that cometh from that Coaſt, who feeleth not the ſmart thereof, being either Impoveriſh'd, Beggered or Ruinated thereby.

Whereby I aſſure you, that the hatred of all that is ſo univerſal and vehement againſt my Lord, as I think never thing created by God, was ſo odious to that Nation as the very Name of my Lord of *Leiceſter* is; which his Lordſhip well knowing, I doubt not, but he will take heed how he goeth thither to dwell, or ſend thither his Poſterity. For his Poſterity (quoth the Gentleman,) I ſuppoſe he hath little cauſe to be ſollicitous; for that God himſelf taketh care commonly, that Goods and Honours ſo gotten, and ſo maintained as his be, ſhall never trouble the Third Heir.

Mar-

Marry, for himſelf I confeſs, the matter ſtandeth as you ſay, that he hath Reaſon to forbear that Country, and to leave off his Buildings begun at *Denbeigh*, as I hear ſay he hath done, for that the univerſal Hatred of a People is a perilous matter.

And if I were in his Lordſhip's Caſe, I ſhould often think of the end of *Nero*, who after all his Glory, upon the Fury of the People, was adjudged to have his Head thruſt into a Pillory, and ſo to be beaten to Death with Rods and Thongs. Or rather, I ſhould fear the Succeſs of *Vitellius* the Third, Emperor after *Nero*, who for his Wickedneſs and Oppreſſion of the People, was taken by them at length, with Fortune began to fail him, and led out of his Pallace naked, with Hooks of Iron faſtened in his Fleſh, and ſo drawn through the City with Infamy, where laden in the Streets with Filth and Ordure caſt upon him, and a Prick put under his Chin, to the end he ſhould look down, or hide his Face, was brought to the Bank of *Tyber*, and there after many Hundred Wounds received, was caſt into the River.

So implacable a thing it is to incur the Fury of a Multitude, when it is once ſtirred, and hath place of Revenge; and ſo heavy is the Hand of God upon Tyrants in this World, when it pleaſeth his Divine Majeſty to take Revenge of the ſame. I have read in *Leander* his Deſcription of *Italy*, how that in *Spoleto* (if I be not deceived) the chief City of the Country of *Umbria*, there was a ſtrange Tyrant, who in the time of his Proſperity, con-

contemned all Men, and forbeared to injure no Man that came within his Claws, esteeming himself sure enough for ever, being called to render an account of this Life, and for the next he cared little. But God upon a sudden turned upside down his Felicity, and cast him into the People's Hands, who took him and bound his Naked Body upon a Block in the Market-place, with a Fire and Iron Tongs by him, and then made Proclamation, that seeing this Man was no otherwise able to make Satisfaction for his publick Injuries that he had done, every private Person annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the hot burning Tongs there ready, should take of his Flesh so much as was correspondent to the Injury received, as indeed they did, until the miserable Man gave up the Ghost, and after too, as this Author writeth.

But to the purpose, seeing my Lord little careth for such Examples, and is become so hardy now, as he maketh no account to injure whole Countrys and Commonalities together, it shall be bootless to speak of his Proceedings towards particular Men, who have not so great strength to resist as a Multitude hath.

Yet I can assure you, that there are so many and so pitiful things published daily of his Tyranny in this kind, as do move great Compassion towards the Party that doth suffer, and horror against him who shameth not dayly to offer such Injury.

As for Example: Whose Heart would but bleed to hear the Case before mentioned of Mr. *Robinson* of *Staffordshire*, a Proper young Gentleman, and well given both in Religion and other Vertues; whose Father died at *New-haven*, in her Majesty's Service, under this Man's Brother the Earl of *Warwick*, and recommended at his Death, this his Eldest Son to the special Protection of *Leicester*, and his Brother, whose Servant also this *Robinson* had been from his Youth upwards, and spent the most part of his Living in his Service: Yet notwithstanding all this when *Robinson*'s Lands were entangled with a *Londoner* upon Interest, for his former Maintainance in their Service, whose Title my Lord of *Leicester*, though craftily, yet not covertly under *Ferris* his Cloak, had gotten to himself, ceased not to pursue the poor Gentleman even to Imprisonment, Arraignment and Sentence of Death, for greedines of the said living, together with the vexation of his Brother-in-law, Mr. *Harlecourt*, and all other his Friends, upon pretence forsooth, that there was a Man slain by *Robinson*'s Party, in defence of his own Possession, against *Leicester*'s Intruders, that would by violence break into the same,

Mr. Robinson's Story.

Harlecourt.

What should I speak of others, whereof there would be no end? As of his dealings with Mr *Richard Lee* for his Mannor of *Hook-Norton* (if I fail not in the Name) with Mr. *Lowick Grevil*, by seeking to bereave him of all his Living at once, if the drift had taken place: With *George Whitney*, in the behalf

Richard Lee.

Lowick Grevil

Whitney.

☞half of Sir *Henry Leigh*, for enforceing him to forego the Controulerſhip of *Woodſtock*, which he holdeth by Patent from King *Henry* the 7th: Which my Lord *Barkley*, whom he enforceth to yeild up his Lands to his Brother *Warwick*, which his Anceſtors had held quietly, for almoſt 200 Years together.

Lord Barkley.

What ſhall I ſay of his intollerable Tyranny upon the laſt Biſhop of *Canterbury*, for Dr. *Julio's* ſake, and that in ſo foul a matter; upon Sir *John Throgmorton's* whom he brought pitifully to his Grave, by continual vexations, for a peice of faithful Service done by him to his Country, and to all the Line of King *Henry* againſt this Man's Father, in King *Edward's* and Queen *Mary's* Days? Upon divers of the Lands for one Man's ſake of that Name before mentioned, that offered to take *Killingworth* Caſtle? Upon ſome of the *Gifford's*, and others for *Throgmorton's* ſake's For that is alſo his Lordſhip's Diſpoſition, for one Man's ſake, or Cauſe, whom he brooketh not, to plague a whole Generation, that any way pertaineth, or is allyed to the ſame: His endleſs perſecuting of Sir *Drew Drury*, and many other Courtiers, both Men and Women.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sir John Throgmorton.

Lane.

Sir Drew Drury.

All theſe, I ſay, and many other, who daily ſuffer Injuries, Rapines and Oppreſſions at his Hands, throughout the Realm, what ſhould it avail to name them in this place, ſeeing neither his Lordſhip careth any thing for the ſame, neither the Parties aggrieved, are like to obtain any Releaſe of Affliction thereby, but rather double Oppreſſion for their

their complaining. Wherefore to return again, whereat we began: You ſee by this little, who, and how great, and what manner of Man my Lord of *Leiceſter* is this Day in the State of *England*, you ſee and may gather in ſome part, by that which hath been already ſpoken, his Wealth, his Strength, his Cunning, his Diſpoſition.

His Wealth is exceſſive in all kind of Riches, for a Private Man, and muſt needs be much more that any body can likely imagin for the infinite ways he hath had of gain ſo many years together; his Strength and Power is abſolute and irreſiſtible, both in Chamber, Court, Council, and Country.

His Cunning in Plotting and Fortifying the ſame, by Force and Fraud, by Mines and Counter-mines, by Trenches, Bulwarks, Flankers and Rampiers, by Friends Enemies, Allies, Servants, Creatures or Dependants, or any other may ſerve his turn, is very rare and ſingular.

His diſpoſition to Cruelty, Murther, Treaſon, and Tyranny, and by all theſe to ſupream Sovereignty over others is moſt evident and clear.

And then judge you whether her Majeſty that now reigneth (whoſe Life and Proſperity the Lord in mercy long preſerve) have not juſt cauſe to fear, in reſpect of theſe things only; if there were no other particulars to prove his aſpiring intent.

No (doubt quoth the Lawer) but theſe are great matters in the queſtion of ſuch a

Caſe as is a Crown, and we have ſeen by example of the leaſt of theſe Four, which you have here nam'd, or rather ſome little branch contain'd in any of them, hath been ſufficient to have found juſt Suſpicion, Diſtruſt or Jealouſie in the Heads of moſt wiſe Princes, towards the Proceedings of more aſſured Subjects than my Lord of *Leiceſter* in Reaſon may be preſumed to be.

For that, the Safety of the State and Prince ſtandeth not only in the readineſs and ability of reſiſting open attempts, when they ſhall fall out, but alſo (and that much more as Statutes write) in a certain provident watchfulneſs of preventing all poſſibilities and likelihoods of Danger and Oppreſſion: For that no Prince commonly will put himſelf to the courteſy of another Man be he never ſo obliged, whether he ſhall obtain his Crown, or no, ſeeing the cauſe of a Kingdom acknowledgeth neither Kindred, Duty, Faith, Friendſhip nor Society.

I know not, whether I do expound or declare my ſelf well or no; but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath 2 points of aſſurance from his Subjects, the one that he is faithful, and lacketh Will to annoy his Sovereign, the other for that he is weak, and wanteth ability to do the ſame: The firſt is always of more importance than the ſecond, and conſequently more to be ey'd and obſerv'd in Policy, for that our Will may be chang'd at our Pleaſure but not our Ability.

Conſidering then upon that which hath been ſaid and ſpecified before, how that my Lord of *Leiceſter* hath poſſeſs'd himſelf of

of all the ſtrength power and ſinews of this Realm, and hath made his Party ſo ſtrong, as it ſeemeth not reſiſtable, you have great Reaſon to ſay, that her Majeſty may juſtly conceive ſome doubt; for that if his will were according to his power, moſt aſſured it is, that her Majeſty were not in ſafty.

Say not ſo good Sir (ſaith the Scholar) for in ſuch a caſe truly I would repoſe little upon his Will, who is ſo many ways apparent to be moſt inſatiable of Ambition: Rather wou'd I think, that as yet his Ability ſerves not either for time, place, force or ſome other Circumſtance, then that any part of good-will ſhou'd want in him, ſeeing that not only his deſire of Sovereignty, but alſo his intent and attempts to aſpire to the ſame, is ſufficiently declared by the very particulars of his powers and plots already ſet down; which if you have the patience to hear a Scholar's Argument, by a principal out of Philoſophy is thus proved.

A Philoſophical Argument proving Leiceſter's intent of Sovereignty.

For if it be true what *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that there is no Agent which worketh not for ſome final end; as the Bird buildeth not her Neſt but to dwell, and hath her young ones therein, and not only this, but alſo that the ſame Agent doth always frame his work according to the proportion of his intended end; as when the Fox or the Badger makteh a wide Earth or Den, it is a ſign that he meaneth to draw thither great ſtore of Prey: Then muſt we alſo in Reaſon think, that ſo Wiſe, Politick and Fox-like an Agent as is my Lord of *Leiceſter* himſelf, wanteth not his end in theſe Plottings and Preparations

of his ; I mean an end porpotionable in greateſt to his Preparations ; which end can be no leſs, nor meaner than ſupream Sovereignty, ſeeing his Proviſion and Furniture do tend that way, and are in every point fully correſpondant to the ſame.

What meaneth his ſo diligent beſieging of his Prince's Perſon ? his taking up the ways and paſſages about her, his Inſolency in Court, his ſingularity in Council, his violent preparation abroad, his enriching of his Complices, the banding of his Faction with the abundance of Friends every where? What do theſe things ſignifie, I ſay, and ſo many other as you have well noted and mentioned before, but only his intent and purpoſe of Supremacy ? What did the ſame things portend in times paſt, in his Father, but even that which they now portend in his Son ? Or how ſhall we think that the Son hath another meaning in the very ſame Actions, than his Father had before him, whoſe ſteps he followeth ?

I remember, that I have heard of divers ancient and grave Men in *Cambridge*, how that in King *Edward*'s days, the Duke of *Northumberland*, this Man's Father, was generally thought of all Men to be mean indeed, as afterwards he ſhewed ; eſpecially when he had once joyned with the Houſe of *Suffolk*, and made himſelf a Principal of that Faction by Marriage; but yet for that he was potent and proteſted every where his great Love, Duty and ſpecial Care, above all others, that, he bare towards his Prince and Country ; no Man

Man durſt accuſe him openly, untill it was too late to withſtand his Power, as commonly it falleth out in ſuch Affairs: And the like is evident in my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Actions (now albeit to her Majeſty I doubt not but that he will pretend and proteſt as his Father did to her Brother) eſpecially now, after his open Aſſociation with the Faction of *Huntingdon*, who no leſs impugneth under this Man's Protection, the whole Line of *Henry* the 7th for right of the Crown, than the Houſe of *Suffolk* did under his Father, the particular Progeny of *Henry* the 8th.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I do not read in King *Edward*'s Reign (when the matter notwithſtanding was in plotting) that the Houſe of *Suffolk* durſt ever make open claim to the next Succeſſion; but now the Houſe of *Haſtings* is become ſo confident upon the Strength and Favour of their Fautors' as they dare both Plot, Practice and Pretend all at once, and fear not to ſet out their Title in every place whereat they came.

And do they not fear the Statute (ſaith the Lawyer) ſo rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter Treaſon to determine of Titles.

Nay they need not (quoth the Gentleman) ſeeing their Party is ſo ſtrong and terrible, as no Man dare accuſe them: Seeing alſo they know, that the procurement of that Statute was only to endanger, or ſtop the Mouths of the true Succeſſors, whilſt themſelves in

the mean ſpace went about under hand, to eſtabliſh their own Ambuſhments.

Well (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntingdon*'s Title to the Crown, I will not ſtand with you, for it is a matter ſufficiently known and ſeen throughout the Realm: As alſo, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* is at this day a Principal Favonrer and Patron of the Cauſe, albeit ſome years paſt, he were an earneſt Advaſary and Enemy to the ſame.

But yet I have heard ſome Friends of his in reaſoning of theſe matters, deny ſtoutly a point or two which you have touched here, and ſo ſeem to believe the ſame.

And that is, firſt, howſoever my Lord of *Leiceſter* doth mean to help his Friend, when time ſhall ſerve; yet pretendeth he nothing to the Crown himſelf.

The ſecond is, that whatſoever may be meant for the Title, for compaſſing of the Crown, after her Majeſty's death; yet nothing is intended during her Reign. And of both theſe points they alledge Reaſons.

As for the firſt, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* is very well known to have no Title, to the Crown himſelf, either by deſcent in Blood, Alliance, or otherwiſe: For the ſecond, that his Lordſhip hath no cauſe to be a Malecontent in the preſent Government, nor hope for more Preferment, if my Lord of *Huntingdon* were King to morrow next, than he receiveth now at her Majeſty's Hand, having all the Realm at his own diſpoſition.

For

For the first (quoth the Gentleman) whether he meaneth the Crown for himself, or for his Friend it importeth not much, seeing both ways it is evident he meaneth to have all at his disposition.

And albeit now for the avoiding of envy, he gave it out as a crafty Fox, that he meaneth not but to run with other Men, and to hunt with *Huntingdon*, and other Hounds in the same Chase: Yet it is not unlike, but he will play the Bear, when he cometh to the dividing of the Prey, and will snatch the best pars unto himself.

Yea, and these self same Persons of his Train and Faction, whom you call his Friends, though in publick to excuse his doings, and to cover the whole matter and plot, they must and will deny the matters to be so meant, yet otherwise, they both think, hope and know the contrary, and will not stick in secret to speak it, and amongst themselves it is their talk of Consolation. The words of his special Counsellor the Lord *North* are known, which he uttereth to his trusty *Pooly*, upon receipt of a Letter from the Court, of her Majesty's displeasure towards him, for being a Witness at *Leicester*'s second Marriage with Dame *Lettice* (although I know he was not ignorant of the first) at *Wainstead*, of which Displeasure this Lord making far less account than in reason he should, of the just offence of his Sovereign, said, that for his own part, he was resolv'd to sink or swim with my Lord of *Leicester*; who (saith he) if the Cards may once come to shuffling (I will use but his

The Lord North's *words to Mr* Pooly

own words) I make no doubt but he alone ſhall bear away the Bucklers.

The words alſo of Sir Thomas Layton *Brother in law to my Lord of* Leiceſter.

The words of Sir *Thomas Layton* to Sir *Henry Nevil*, walking upon the Turrets of *Windſor*, are known, who told him after long diſcourſe of their happy conceiv'd Kingdom, that he doubted not but to ſee him one day hold the ſame Office in *Windſor* of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, which now my Lord did hold of the Queen; meaning thereby the goodly Office of Conſtableſhip, with all Royalties and Honours belonging to the ſame; which now the ſaid Sir *Henry* exerciſed only as Deputy to the Earl, which was plainly to ſignifie that he doubted not but to ſee my Lord of *Leiceſter* one day King, or elſe his other hope could never poſſible take effect, or come to paſs.

The words of Mrs. Weſt, *Dame* Lettice's *Siſter.*

To the ſame point tended the Words of Mrs. *Ann Weſt*, Dame *Lettice*'s Siſter unto the Lady *Ann Askew*, in the great Chamber, upon a day when her Brother *Robert Knowles* had danced diſgracefully and ſcornfully before the Queen, in preſence of the *French-Men*, which thing her Majeſty believ'd to proceed from ill-will in him, both for the diſlike of the Strangers in Preſence, and for the Quarrel of his Siſter *Eſſex*, it pleaſed her Majeſty to check him for the ſame; with Addition of a Reproachful Word or two, full well deſerved, as though done for deſpight of the forced abſence from that place of Honour of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the Words) his Siſter.

Which

Which words the other young Twig receiving in great dudgeon, brake forth in great Choller to her forenam'd Companion, and ſaid, that ſhe ſhould ſee her Siſter, upon whom the Queen railed (for ſo it pleaſed her to term her Majeſty's ſharp Speech) to ſit in her Place and Throne, being much worthier of the ſame, for her Qualities and rare Vertues, than was the other; which undutiful Speech, albeit, it were over-heard, and condemned of divers that ſate about 'em, yet none durſt ever report the ſame to her Majeſty, as I have heard ſundry Courtiers affirm, in reſpect of the Revenge which the Reporters ſhould abide at my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Hand, whenſover the Matter ſhould come to light.

And this is now concerning the Opinion and ſecret Speech of my Lord's own Friends, who cannot but utter their Conceits and Judgment in Time and Place convenient, whatſoever they are willing to give out publickly to the cantrary, for deceiving of ſuch as will believe fair painted words, againſt evident and plain demonſtration of Reaſon, I ſay Reaſon, for that if none of theſe Signs and Tokens were, none of theſe Preparations, nor any of theſe Speeches and Detections by his Friends, that know his Heart, ſhould be yet in force of plain reaſon, I could alledge you three Arguments only, which to any Man of Intelligence, would eaſily perſwade, and give ſatisfaction, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* meaneth firſt, and principally for himſelf in this Suit: Which three Arguments, for that you ſeem to be attent,

attent, I will not ſtick to run over in all brevity.

The firſt Argument of Leiceſter's *meaning for himſelf before* Huntingdon, *drawn from the Natnre of Ambtion.*

The firſt is, the very Nature and Quality of Ambition it ſelf, which is ſuch (as you know) that it never ſtayeth, but paſſeth from Degree to Degree, and the more it obtaineth, the more it coveteth, and eſteemeth it ſelf both worthy and able to obtain, and in our Matter that now we handle, even as in Wooing, he that ſueth to a Lady for another, and obtaineth her Good will, entreth eaſily into a Conceit of his own Worthyneſs thereby, and ſo commonly into hope of ſpeeding himſelf, while he ſpeakth for his Friend.

So much more in Kingdoms, he that ſeeth himſelf of Power able to put the Crown upon another Man's Head, will quickly ſtep to the next Degree, which is to ſet it on his own: Seeing the Charity of ſuch good Men is wont to be ſo orderly, as according to the Precept, it beginneth with it ſelf firſt.

Again, we ſee that Ambition is jealous, ſuſpicious and fearful of it ſelf, eſpecially when it is joyned with a Conſcince, over charged with the Guilt of many Crimes, whereof it would be loath to be accountable to any Man, that might by authority take a view of his Life and Actions when it ſhould pleaſe him. In which kind, ſeeing *Leiceſter* hath ſo much to increaſe, as before hath been ſhewed by wicked Doings, it is not like, that ever he will put himſelf to another Man's Courteſie, for paſſing his Credit in particular Reckonings, which he can no way anſwer or ſatisfie, but rather will ſtand upon

upon the groſs Sum, and general *quietus eſt*, by making himſelf chief Auditor and Maſter of all Accounts; for his own part, in this Life howſoever he do in the next, whereof ſuch humours have little Regard, and this for the Nature of Ambition it ſelf.

The ſecond Argument drawn from Leiceſter's particular Diſpoſition

The ſecond Argument may be taken from my Lord's own particular Diſpoſition, which is ſuch as may alſo give much Light to the Matter in queſtion, being a Diſpoſition, ſo well liking and inclining to a Kingdom, as it hath been hammering about the ſame from the firſt day that he came in Favour.

Firſt, by ſeeking openly to Marry with the Queens Majeſty her ſelf, and ſo draw the Crown upon his own head, and ſo to his Poſterity.

When that Attempt took no place, then he gave it out, as hath been ſhewed before, how that he was privily contracted to her Majeſty, wherein, as I have told his Dealing before for Satisfaction of a Stranger, ſo let him with Shame and Diſhonor, remember now alſo the Spectacle he ſecretly made for the perſwading of a Subject and Councellor of great Honor in the Cauſe (I mean the Noble Earl of *Pembroke*) to the end, that if her Highneſs ſhould by any means have miſcarried, then he might have Entituled any one of his own Brood, whereof he hath ſtore in many places (as is known) to the Lawful Succeſſion of the Crown under Colour of that Privy and Secret Marraige with her Majeſty, wherein he will want no witneſs to diſpoſe what he will.

Thirdly

Thirdly, When he ſaw alſo that this Device was ſubject to danger, for that his Privy Contract might be denied more eaſily, than he was able juſtly to prove the ſame after her Majeſty's Deceaſe, he had a new fetch to ſtrengthen the Matter, and that was to cauſe theſe words of (Natural Iſſue) to be put into the Statute of Succeſſion for the Crown, againſt all Order and Cuſtom of the Realm, and againſt the known common Stile of the Law, accuſtomed to be uſed in Statutes of ſuch a Nature, whereby he might be able, after the death of her Majeſty to make Legitimate unto the Crown, any one Baſtard of his own, by any of ſo many Hackneys as he keepeth, affirming it to be the Natural Iſſue of her Majeſty by himſelf: For no other Reaſon can be imagin'd, why the ancient uſual words of Lawful Iſſue ſhould ſo cunningly be cang'd into Natural Iſſue, thereby not only to endanger a whole Realm with new Quarrels of Succeſſion, but alſo to touch as far as in him lieth, the Royal Honour of his Sovereign, who hath been to him but too Bountiful a Princeſs.

Fourthly, When after a time, theſe Fetches and Devices began to be diſcovered, he chang'd ſtraight his Courſe, and turn'd to the *Papiſt* and *Scottiſh* Faction, pretending the Marriage of the Queen in Priſon. But yet, after this, again, finding therein not ſuch Succeſs as contented him thoroughly, and having in the mean ſpace a new occaſion offered of Bail, he betook himſelf Fifthly to the

Party

Party of *Huntingdon*, having thereby, no doubt, as good meaning to himſelf, as his Father by joyning with *Suffolk*. Marry, yet of late he hath a new about once again for himſelf in ſecret, by treating the Marriage of young *Arabella* with his Son, Entituled, the Lord *Denbeigh*.

So that by this we ſee the Diſpoſition of this Man, bent wholly to a Scepter; and albeit, in right Title and Deſcent of Blood (as you ſay) he can juſtly claim neither Kingdom nor Cottage, conſidering either the Baſeneſs or Diſloyalty of his Anceſters, yet in reſpect of his preſent State and Power, and of his Natural Pride, Ambition and Crafty Conveyance receiv'd from his Father, he hath learned how to put himſelf firſt in poſſeſſion of chief Rule under other pretences, and after to device upon the Title at his leiſure.

The third Argument drawn from the Nature of the Cauſe it ſelf.

But now, to come to the third Argument, I ſay, that more, and above all this the Nature and State of the Matter it ſelf, permitteth not, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* ſhould mean ſincerely the Crown for *Huntingdon*, eſpecially, ſeeing there hath paſſed between them ſo many years of Diſlike and Enmity, which, albeit for the time, and preſent Commodity be covered and preſſed down, yet by Reaſon and Experience, we know, that afterwards, when they ſhall deal together in Matters of Importance, and when Jealouſy ſhall be joyned to other Circumſtances of their Actions, it is impoſſible that the former Diſlike ſhould not break out in far higher

higher degree than ever before, as we ſhewed before in the examples of the Reconciliation made betwixt this Man's Father, and *Edward*, Duke of *Somerſet*, who bore Rule under King *Edward* the 6th. Both which Dukes of *Somerſet*, after Reconciliation made with their old, crafty and ambitious Enemies, were brought by the ſame to Deſtruction ſoon after.

Wherefore, I doubt not, but my Lord of *Leiceſter* will take good heed by injoyning by Reconciliation with *Huntingdon*, after ſo long a Breach, and will not be ſo improvident, as to make him his Head, who now is but his Dependant.

He remembreth too well the Succeſs of the Lord *Stanly*, who helped King *Henry* the 7th. to the Crown: Of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who did the ſame for *Richard* the Third, of the Earl of *Warwick*, who ſet up King *Edward* the Fourth and of the three *Percies*, who advanced to the Scepter King *Henry* the 4th.

All which Noblemen, upon Occaſions, which after fell out, were rewarded with Death by the ſelf-ſame Princes whom they had preferred.

Matchiavel's *Reaſon.*

And that not without Reaſon (as Signior *Matchiavel* affirmeth) for that ſuch Princes afterwards can never give ſufficient ſatisfaction to ſuch Friends for ſo great a Benefit rereceiv'd. And conſequently, leaſt upon diſcontent, they may chance to do as much for others againſt 'em, as they have done for 'em againſt others, the ſureſt way is to recompence

pence them with ſuch a Reward as they ſhall never after be able to complain of.

Wherefore, I can never think, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* will put himſelf in danger of the like ſucceſs at *Huntingdon*'s hands, but rather will follow the Plot of his own Father with the Duke of *Suffolk*, whom, no doubt, he meant only to uſe for a help, whereby to place himſelf in ſupream Dignity, and afterwards whatſoever had befallen to the State, the others Head would never have come to other end than it enjoy'd. For if Queen *Mary* had not cut it off, King *John* of *Northumberland* would have done the ſame in time, ſo all Men do know that were privy to any of his cunning Dealings.

And what *Huntingdon*'s ſecreet Opinion is of *Leiceſter* (notwithſtanding) this outward ſhew of Dependance) it was my chance to learn from the Mouth of a ſpecial Man of that haſty King, who was his Leiger or Agent in *London*; at a time, falling in talk of his Maſter's Title, declared, that he had heard him divers times in ſecret complain to his Lady, *Leiceſter*'s Siſter, as greatly fearing, that in the end he would ſuffer Wrong, and pretend ſome Title for himſelf. *Southouſe.*

Well (quoth the Lawyer) it ſeemeth by this laſt Point, that theſe two Lords are cunning Practitioners in the Art of Diſſimulation. But for the former whereof you ſpeak, in truth I have heard Men of good Diſcourſe affirm, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had ſtrange Devices in is Head for deceiving of *Suffolk*, who was nothing ſo fine Witted

Witted as himſelf, and for the bringing the Crown to his own Family: Amongſt other Devices, it is thought, that he had certain intention to Marry the Lady *Mary* himſelf, after once he had brought her into his own Hands, and beſtowed her Majeſty that now is, upon ſome one of his Children, if it ſhould have been thought beſt to give her Life, and ſo conſequently to have ſhaken off *Suffolk* and his Pedigree, with Condign Puniſhment for his bold Behaviour in that behalf.

Verily, this had been (quoth the Scholar) an excellent Stratagem, if it had taken place. But, I pray you Sir, how could himſelf have taken the Lady *Mary* to Wife, ſeeing he was at that time married to another.

Oh (quoth the Gentleman) you queſtion like a Scholar, as though my Lord of *Leiceſter* had not a Wife alive when he firſt began to pretend Marriage with the Queens Majeſty, do you not remember the State of King *Richard* the Third; who at ſuch time as he thought beſt for the Eſtabliſhing of his Title to Marry his own Neice, that afterwards was Married to King *Henry* the ſeventh, how he cauſed ſecretly to be given abroad, that his own Wife was dead, whom all the World knew then to be alive, and in good Health, but ſoon afterwards ſhe was ſeen dead indeed.

Theſe grear perſonages, in Matters of ſuch Weight, as is a Kingdom, have Priviledes to diſpoſe of Womans Bodies, Marriages, Lives, and Deaths, as ſhall be thought for the time moſt convenient.

And

And what do you think, I pray you of this new Triumvirate, so lately concluded about *Arabella* (for so I must call the same though one of the three Persons be no *Vir*, but a *Virago*) I mean of the Marriage of young *Denbeigh* with the little Daughter of *Lennox*, whereby the Father in Law, the Grand-mother, and the Uncle of the new designed Queen, have conceived to themselves a singular Triumphant Reign. But what do you think may be the issue thereof? Is there nothing of the old Plot of Duke *John* of *Northumberland* in this?

A New Triumvirate, Leicester, Talbot *and the Countess of* Shrewsbury.

Marry, Sir, (quoth the *Lawyer*) if this be so, I dare assure you, this Sequel is enough pretended thereby: And, first, no doubt, there goeth a deep Drift by the Wife and Son, against old *Abraham* the Husband and Father, with the well lined large Youth: And, secondly, a far deeper, by Trusty *Robert*, against his best Mistress; but deepest of all by the whole Crew against the Designments of the hasty Earl who thirsteth for a Kingdom with plain Intemperance, and seemeth (if there were plain dealing) to hope by this good People, shortly to quench his Drought. But either part, indeed and truth, seeketh to deceive others, and therefore it is hard to say, where the Game in fine will rest.

Well, howsoever that be (quoth the Gentleman) I am of opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester* will use both his Practise, and many more, for bringing the Scepter finally to his own Head: And that he will not only imploy *Huntingdon* to Defeat *Scotland*, and *A-*

rabella to defeat *Huntingdon*, but alſo would uſe the Marriage of the Queen impriſoned, to defeat them both, if ſhe were in his Hands, and any one of all three to poſſeſs her Majeſty that now is, and alſo the Authority of all four to bring it to himſelf, with many other Fetches, Flings and Friſcoes beſides, which ſimple Men do not as yet conceive.

And howſoever, theſe two joyned Earls, do ſeem for the time to draw together, and to play booty, yet I am of Opinion, that the one will beguile the other at the upſhot. And *Haſtings*, for ought I ſee, when he cometh to the Scambling, is like to have no better luck by the Bear, than his Anceſtors had by the Bore, who uſing the Son and Heir of King *Henry* the 6th, and after in deſtroying the faithful Friends and Kinſmen of King *Edward* the 5th, for his eaſier way to Uſurpation, made an end alſo of him in the *Tower*, at the very ſame day and hour that the other were by his Counſel deſtroyed in *Pomfret Caſtle*. So that where the Hazard of the Game is a Kingdom, there is neither Faith, neither good Fellowſhip, nor fair play amongſt the Gameſters. And this ſhall be enough for this Point, *viz.* What good my Lord of *Leiceſter* meaneth to himſelf, in reſpect of *Huntingdon*. Touching the ſecond, whether the Attempts be propoſed in her Majeſties days or no, the Matter is much leſs doubtful to him that knoweth, or can imagin what a Torment the delay of a Kingdom is to ſuch a one as ſuffereth delay thereof, and feareth,

feareth, that every hour may breed ſome alteration, to the prejudice of his own conceived Hopes. We ſee oftentimes, that the Child is impatient in this Matter to expect the natural End of his Parents Life, whom, notwithſtanding by Nature he is inforced to love, and who alſo by Nature is like to leave this World behind him, and after whoſe Deceaſe, he is aſſured to obtain his deſire, but moſt certain of dangerous event, if he attempt to get it while his Parent liveth.

Which four Conſiderations, are no doubt, of great force to contain a Child in Duty, and to bridle his Deſire, albeit, ſometimes not ſufficient to withhold this greedy Appetite of Reigning.

But ſhall we think, where none of theſe four Conſiderations do reſtrain? Where the preſent Poſſeſſion is no Parent, whoſe death muſt needs bring infinite Difficulties to the Enterprize, and in whoſe Life-time the Matter is moſt eaſie to be atchiev'd under Colour and Authority of the preſent Poſſeſſion? Shall we think, that in ſuch a Caſe the ambitious Man will over-rule his own Paſſion, and looſe his Commodity? As for that which is alledged before for my Lord in reaſon of his Defendors, that his preſent State is ſo proſperous, as he cannot expect better in the next change whatſoever it ſhould be, is of ſmall moment in the Conceit of the ambitious Head, whoſe Eye and Heart is always upon that which he hoped for, and enjoyeth not, and not upon that which he

already poſſeſſeth, be it never ſo good, eſpecially in Matters of Honor and Authority.

It is an infallible Rule, that one Degree deſired, and not obtained, afflicteth more than five Degrees already poſſeſſed can give Conſolation.

The Story of Duke *Haman*, confirmeth this evidently, who being the greateſt in the World, under King *Aſſuerus*, after he had recounted up all his Pomp, Riches, Glory and Felicity to his Friends, yet he ſaid, that all this was nothing unto him, until he could obtain the Revenge which he deſigned upon *Mardotheus* his Enemy. And thereby it cometh ordinarily to paſs, that amongſt higheſt in Authority are found the greateſt ſtore of Malecontents, that moſt do endanger their Prince and Country. When the *Percies* took part with *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, againſt King *Richard* the Second, their Lawful Sovereign, it was not for lack of Preferment, for they were exceedingly advanced by the ſaid King, and poſſeſſed the three Earldoms of *Northumberland*, *Worceſter* and *Stafford* together, beſides many other Offices and Dignities of Honor.

In like ſort, when the two *Nevils* took upon them to joyn with *Richard* of *York*, to put down their Benign Prince, *Henry* the Sixth, and after again on the other ſide to put down King *Henry* the Fourth, it was not upon want of Advancement, they being Earls both of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Lords of many nota-

notable Places beſides: But it was upon a vain Imagination of future Fortune, whereby ſuch Men are commonly led, yet had they not any ſmell in their Noſtrils of getting the Kingdom for themſelves, as this Man hath to pluck him forward.

If you ſay, that theſe Men hated their Sovereign, and that thereby they were led to procure his Deſtruction, the ſame I may anſwer of my Lord living, though of all Men he hath leaſt cauſe ſo to do, yet ſuch is the Nature of wicked Ingratitude, that where it oweth moſt, and diſdaineth to be bound, there every little Diſcontentment, turneth double Obligation into tripple Hatred. This is ſhewed evidently in the time of his little Diſgrace, wherein he did not only diminiſh, vilifie and abuſe amongſt his Friends, the ineſtimable Benefits he had received from her Majeſty, but alſo uſed to exprobrate his own good Services and Merits, and to touch her Highneſs, with want of Conſideration and Recompence for the ſame: Which Behaviour, together with his haſty Preparation to Rebellion, and Aſſault of her Highneſs's Royal Perſon and Dignity, upon ſo ſmall a cauſe given, did well ſhew what mind inwardly he beareth to his Sovereign, and what her Majeſty may expect, if by offending him ſhe ſhould fall within the compaſs of his furious Paws, ſeeing ſuch a Smoak of Diſdain could not proceed, but from a fierce Furnace of Hatred within. And ſure, it is a wonderful matter to conſider what a little Check, or rather the bare Imagination of a ſmall Overthwart, may

work in a proud and diſdainful Stomach. The Remembrance of his miſſed Marriage, that he ſo much pretended and deſired with her Majeſty, doth ſtick deeply in his Breaſt, and ſtirreth him daily to Revenge, as alſo the Diſdain of certain Checks and Diſgraces received at ſome times, eſpecially that of his laſt Marriage, which galleth him ſo much the more by how much Fear and Danger it brought him into at that time, and did put his Widdow in ſuch open Frenzie, as ſhe raged many Months after againſt her Majeſty, and is not yet quieted, but remaineth, as it were a ſworn Enemy, for that Injury, and ſtandeth like a Fiend or Fury at the Elbow of her *Amadis* to ſtir him forwards, when occaſion ſhall ſerve.

And what effect ſuch Female Suggeſtions may work, when they find an Humor proud and plyable for their purpoſe, you may remember, by the Example of the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, who inforced her Husband to cut off the Head of his only dear Brother, to his evident Deſtruction for her Contentation.

Wherefore, to conclude this Matter, without any further Diſpute and Reaſon, ſeeing there is ſo much diſcovered in the Caſe, as there is ſo great deſire to Reign, ſo great Impatience of Delay, ſo great Hope and Ability of Succeſs, if it be attempted under the good Fortune, and preſent Authority of the Competitors, ſeeing the Plots be ſo well laid, the Preparations ſo forward, the Favourers ſo furniſhed, the Time ſo propitious, and ſo many

many other Cauſes concurring together, ſeeing that by deferring all may be hazarded, and by haſtening, little can be indangered, the State and Condition of things well weighed, finding alſo the Bonds of Duty ſo broken already in the Conſpirators, the Cauſes of Miſlike and Hatred ſo manifeſt, and the Solicitors to execution ſo potent and diligent, as Womens Malice and Ambition are wont to be, it is more than probable, that they will not looſe their preſent Commodity, eſpecially, ſeeing they have learned by their Architipe or Protoplot, which they follow (I mean the Conſpiracy of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* in King *Edward*'s Days) that herein there was ſome Error committed at that time, which overthrew the whole, and that was the deferring of ſome things until after the King's Death, which ſhould have been put in execution before: For, if in the time of their Plotting, when as yet their Deſignments were not Publiſhed to the World, they had under the Countenance of the King, gotten into their Hands the two Siſters, and diſpatched ſome other few Affairs, before they had cauſed the young Prince to die, no doubt, but in Man's Reaſon the whole Deſignment had taken place; and conſequently, it is to be ſuppoſed, that theſe Men being no fools in their own Affairs, will take heed for falling into the like Error by delay, but rather will make all ſure, by ſtriking while the Iron is hot, as our Proverb warneth them.

It cannot be denied, in reaſon (quoth the *Lawyer*) but that they have many helps, doing what they liſt now under the Pretence, Favour, Countenance and Authority of her Majeſty, which they ſhould not have after her Highneſs's Deceaſe, but each Man ſhall remain more at liberty for his Supream Obedience, by reaſon of the Statute provided for uncertainty of the next Succeſſor, and therefore, I, for my part, would rather counſel them to make much of her Majeſties Life, for after that they little know what may enſue, or befal their Deſignments.

They will make the moſt thereof (quoth the *Gentleman*) for their own advantage, but after that what is like to follow the Examples of *Edward* and *Richard* the Second, as alſo *Henry* and *Edward* the 6th do ſufficiently forewarn us, whoſe Lives were prolonged until their Deaths, were thought more profitable unto the Conſpirators, and not longer.

And for the Statute you ſpeak of, procured by themſelves for the eſtabliſhing the uncertainty of the next true Succeſſor (whereas all our former Statutes were wont to be made for the Declaration and Certainty of the ſame) it is with Proviſo as you know, that it ſhall not endure longer than the Life of her Majeſty, that now reigneth; that is indeed no longer than until they themſelves be ready to place another; for then no doubt, but we ſhall ſee a fair Proclamation, that my Lord of *Huntingdon* is the only next Heir, with a bundle of Halters to hang all ſuch as ſhall dare once to open their Mouths for denial of the ſame.

At

At these Words the old Lawyer stepped back as somewhat astonished, and began to make Crosses in the Air after their Fashion (whereat we laughed) and then said; truly my Masters, I had thought that no Man had conceived so evil imagination of the Statute as my self: But now I perceive that not I alone am malicious.

For mine own part, I must confess unto you, that as often as I read over this Statute, or think of the same, as by divers occasions many times I do, I feel my self much grieved and afflicted in mind upon fear, which I conceive, what may be the end of this Statute to our Country, and what privy meaning the chief Procurers thereof might have for their own Drifts against the Realm, and Life of her Majesty that now Reigneth.

And so much more it maketh me to doubt, for that in all Records of Law, you shall never find to my remembrance, any one Example of such a Device for the concealing of the true Inheritor.

But rather in all Ages, States and Times, especially from *Richard* the 1st downwards, you shall find Statutes, Ordinances and Provisions, for Declaration and Manifestation of the same, and therefore this strange and new Device must needs have some strange and unaccustomed meaning, and God of his Mercy grant that it have not some strange and unexpected Event.

In sight of all Men, this is already evident, that never Country in the World was brought into more apparent danger of utter Ruin then

ours

ours is at this day, by pretence of this Statute.

For whereas there is no Gentleman ſo mean in the Realm, that cannot give a gueſs more or leſs, who ſhall be his next Heir, and his Tenants ſoon conjecture what manner of Perſon ſhall be their next Lord: In the Title of our noble Crown whereof all the reſt dependeth; neither is her Majeſty permitted to know or ſay, who ſhall be her next Succeſſor, nor her Subjects allowed to underſtand, or imagin, who in Right may be their future Sovereign.

An intollerable injury in a matter of ſo ſingular importance. For alaſs! what ſhall become of this our Native Country, if God ſhould take from us her moſt excellent Majeſty, as once he will, and ſo leave us deſtitute on the ſudden? What ſhall become of our Lives, of our States, of our whole Realm or Government? Can any Man promiſe himſelf one day longer of Reſt, Peace, Poſſeſſion, Life, or Liberty within the Land, then God ſhall lend her Majeſty to Reign over us? Which albeit we do, and are bound to wiſh that it may be long, yet reaſon telleth us, that by courſe of Nature, it cannot be of any long continuance, and by a thouſand Accidents it may be much ſhorter. And ſhall then our moſt noble Common-wealth and Kingdom, which is of Perpetuity, and muſt continue to our ſelves and our Poſterity, hang only upon the Life of her Highneſs alone, well ſtrucken in years, and of no great good health, robuſtous or ſtrong Complexion? I was within hearing

ſome

ſome ſix or ſeven Years ago, when Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* in a very great Aſſembly, made an Eloquent Oration (which after I weene was put in Print) at the pardoning and delivering of him from the Gallows, that by Error (as was thought) had diſcharged his Piece upon her Majeſty's Barge, and hurt certain Perſons in her Highneſs's Preſence, and in that Oration he declared and deſcribed very effectually what had enſued to the Realm, if her Highneſs by that, or any other means, ſhould have been taken from us.

He ſet forth moſt lively before the Eyes of all Men, what Diviſion, what Diſſention, what Blood-ſhed had enſued, and what fatal dangers were moſt certain to fall upon us, whenſoever that doleful day ſhould happen, wherein no Man ſhall be ſure of his Life, of his Goods, of his Wife, of his Children, no Man certain whether to fly, whom to follow, or where to ſeek Repoſe and Protection.

And as all the hearers there preſent did eaſily grant, that therein he ſaid Truth, and far leſs than might have been ſaid in that behalf, things ſtanding as they do: So may any one I know that heard theſe Words proceed from a Counſellor, that had good cauſe to know the Eſtate of his own Country, entered into this Cogitation, what Puniſhment they might deſerve then at the whole State and Common-wealths Hands, who by letting her Majeſty from Marriage, and then procuring this Statute of diſſembling the next Inheritor had brought their Realm into ſo evident and inevitable Dangers.

For

For every one well conſidered, and weighed with himſelf, that the thing which yet only letted theſe Dangers and Miſchiefs, ſet down by Sir *Chriſtopher*, muſt neceſſarily one day fall upon us, and then ſay we, how falleth it out, that ſo general a Calamity, as muſt needs overtake us before it be long, and may for any thing we know to morrow next, is not provided for as well as foreſeen? Is there no remedy, but that we muſt wittingly and willingly run into our own Ruin, and for the favour or fear of ſome few aſpirers, betray our Country, and the Blood of ſo many thouſand Innocents as live within the Land? For tell me (good Sir) I pray you, if her Majeſty ſhould die to morrow next (whoſe Life God long preſerve and bleſs) but, if ſhe ſhould be taken from us, as by condition of nature and human-frailty ſhe may, what would you do? Which way would you take, or what Head or Party know any good Subject to follow in the Realm?

I ſpeak not of the Conſpirators, for I know they will be ready, and reſolved whom to follow, but I ſpeak of the plain, ſimple, well meaning Subjects, who following now the utter Letter of this fraudulent Statute (fraudulent I mean in the ſecret conceit of the cunning Conſpirators) ſhall be taken at that day upon the ſudden, and being put into a maze by the unexpected contention about the Crown, ſhall be brought into a thouſand Dangers, both of Body and Goods, which are now not thought upon by them, who are moſt in danger of the ſame.

But

But unto her Majesty, for whose Good and Safety this Statute is only pretended to be made; no doubt, but that it bringeth far greater Dangers than any Device that they have used besides; for thereby under colour of restraining the Claims and Titles of true Successors (whose endeavours notwithstanding are more calm and moderate then of Usurpers) they make unto themselves a mean to foster and set forward their own Conspiracy, without controulment, seeing no Man of might may oppose himself against them, but with suspicion, that he meaneth to claim for himself; and so they being armed on the one side with their Authority, and Force of present Fortune, and defended on the other side by the pretence of the Statute, they may securely work and plot at their Pleasure, as you have well proved before that they do.

And whensoever, that their Grounds and Foundations shall be ready, it cannot be denied, but that her Majesty's Life lieth much at their Discretion, to take it or use it to their best Commodity, and there is no doubt but they will, as such Men are wont to do in such Affairs.

Marry, one thing standeth not in their powers so absolutely, that is, to prolong her Majesty's Days or Favours towards themselves at their pleasure, whereof it is not unlike, but they will have a due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden Accident they might be found unready.

They

They have good care thereof I can assure you (quoth the Gentleman) and mean not to be prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever, they will be ready for all Events, and for that cause they hasten so much their Preparations at this day more then ever before, by sending out their Spies and Sollicitors every where, to prove and confirm their Friends by delivering their common Watch-word, by complaining on all hands of our Protestant Bishops and Clergy, and of all the present State of our irreformed Religion (as they call it) by amplifying only the danger of Papists, and *Scottish* Faction, by giving out openly, that now her Majesty is past hope of Child-birth, and consequently seeing God hath given no better success that way in two Women, one after the other, it were not convenient say they, that another of that Sex should ensue; which high commendation of the Law Salique in *France*, whereby Women are forbidden to succeed: Which Speech though in shew it be delivered against the Queen of *Scots*, and other of King *Henry* VII his Line, that descend of Sisters; yet all Men see it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty that is present, as others to come, and so tendeth directly to mutation of the Succession, the principal purpose which I have declared before.

Here said I, for the rest which you speak of besides the Watch-word, it is common, and every where treated in talk among them; but yet for the Watch-word it self, for that you mean it, I think Sir, many know it not, if I were the first that told you the Story, as per-

perchance I was; for in truth I came to it by rare hap, as then I told you, the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their own Faction, to another Nobleman of the ſame Degree and Religion, though out of the ſame opinion in theſe Affairs: And for that I am requeſted not to utter the ſecond, who told it me in ſecret; I muſt alſo ſpare the Name of the firſt, which otherwiſe I would not, nor the time and place where I uttered the ſame,

You do well in that (ſaid the *Lawyer*) but yet I beſeech you let me know this Watch-word, if there be any ſuch, for my inſtruction and help, when need ſhall require.

For I aſſure you, that this Gentleman's former Speech of Halters hath ſo terrified me, as if any ſhould come and ask me, or feel my inclination in theſe matters, I would anſwer them fully to their own content, if I knew the Watch-word, whereby to know them: For of all things I love not to be hanged for Quarrels of Kingdoms.

The Watch-word (ſaid I) whether you be ſettled or no. And if you anſwer yea, and ſeem to underſtand the meaning thereof, then are you known to be of that Faction, and ſo to be accounted and dealt withal for things to come, but if you ſtagger and doubt in anſwering, as if you knew not perfectly the Myſtery, then are you deſcried thereby, either not to be of that ſide, or elſe to be but a puny, not well inſtructed, and conſequently, he that moveth you that Queſtion, will preſently break off that Speech, and turn to ſome

Scholar. *Are you ſettled?*

ſome other talk, until afterwards ſome occaſion be given to perſwade you, or elſe inſtruct you better in that Affair.

Marry, the Noble Man my Lord perceiving by the demanding, that there was ſome Myſtery in covert under the Queſtion, took hold of the Words, and would not ſuffer the Expounder to ſlip away as he endeavoured, but with much entreaty, brought him at length to expound the meaning and purpoſe of the Riddle.

As this was the firſt occaſion (as I think) whereby this Secret came abroad; albeit afterwards at the publick Communions, which were made throughout ſo many Shires, the matter became more common, eſpecially amongſt the Strangers that inhabit, as you know in great numbers with us at this day; all which (as they ſay) are made moſt aſſured to this Faction, and ready to aſſiſt the ſame with great Forces at all occaſions.

Good Lord (quoth the *Lawyer*) how many Secrets and Myſteries be there abroad in the World, whereof we ſimple Men know nothing, and ſuſpect leſs. This Watchword ſhould I never have imagined.

And for the great and often Aſſemblies, under pretence of Communions, though of themſelves, and of their nature, they were not accuſtomed, and conſequently ſubject to Suſpicion, yet I never conceived ſo far as now I do, as neither of the Lodging and Entertaining ſo many Strangers in the Realm, whereof our Artizans do complain every where; but now I ſee the cauſe thereof, which

which, no doubt is founded upon great Reaſon for the Purpoſe. And by this alſo, I ſee that the Houſe of *Huntigdon* preſſeth far forward to the Game, and ſhouldreth near the Goal to lay hands upon the ſame, which, to tell you plain, liketh me but a little, both in reſpect of the good will I bear unto the whole Line of King *Henry*, which hereby is like to be diſpoſſeſſed; as alſo for the miſery which I fear muſt neceſſarily enſue upon our Country, if once the challenge of *Huntigdon* take place in our Realm.

Which Challenge being derived from the Title of *Clarence* only in the Houſe of *York*, before the Union of the two great Houſes, raiſeth up again the old contention between the Families of *York* and *Lancaſter*, wherein ſo much *Engliſh* Blood was ſpilt in times paſt, and much more like to be poured out, if the ſame contention ſhould be ſet on foot again, ſeeing that to the controverſy of Titles would be added alſo the controverſy of Religion, which of all their differences is moſt dangerous.

Sir (quoth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of Conſequence indeed, and ſuch as the very naming thereof maketh my Heart to ſhake and tremble thereat.

I remember well what *Philip de Comines* ſetteth down in his Story of our Country's Calamities, by the contention of theſe two Houſes, diſtinguiſhed by the Red Roſe and the White; but yet both in their Arms might juſtly have been the colour of Red, with a fiery Sword in a black Field, to ſignifie the abundance of Blood and Mortality which en-

ſued in our Country, by that moſt woful and cruel contention. I will not ſtand here to ſet down the Particulars obſerved and gathered by the aforeſaid Author, though a Stranger, which for the moſt part he ſaw himſelf, while he lived about the Duke of *Burgundy*, and King *Lewis* of *France* of that time, namely, the pitiful preſcriptions of divers right Noble Men of our Realm, who beſides all other miſeries were driven to beg openly in Foreign Countrys, and the like.

Mine own obſervation in reading over our Countrys Affairs, is ſufficient to make me abhor the memory of that time, and to dread all occaſion that may lead us to the like in time to come, ſeeing that in my Judgment neither the Civil Wars of *Marcus* and *Sylla*, nor of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* amongſt the *Romans*; nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibellines* amongſt the *Italians* did ever work ſo much woe, as this did to our poor Country.

Wherein by Reaſon of the contention, were Fought Sixteen or Seventeen pitched Fields in leſs then an Hundred years: That is, from the Eleventh or Twelfth year of King *Richard* the Second his Reign, when this Controverſy firſt began to bud up, unto the Thirteenth year of King *Henry* the 7th, at what time, by cutting off the chief Titler of *Huntingdon*'s Houſe, to wit, young *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the contention was moſt happily quenched and ended, wherein ſo many Fields (as I have ſaid) were foughten between Brethren and Inhabitants of our Nation.

And

And therein, and otherwiſe, only about the ſame Quarrel, were ſlain and murthered, and made away, Nine or Ten Kings, and Kings Sons, beſides above Forty Earls, Marqueſſes and Dukes of Name, but many more Lords and Knights, Gentlemen, Captains and Common People without number; and by particular conjecture Two hundred thouſand: For that in one Battel fought by King *Edward* the 4th, there are recorded to be ſlain on both parts, Thirty five thouſand, ſeven hundred and eleven Perſons, beſides others Wounded and taken Priſoners, to be put to death afterwards at the pleaſure of the Conqueror: And at ſundry times after, Ten thouſand ſlain at a Battel; as of thoſe in *Barnet* and *Tewksbury*, both fought in one year.

This ſuffered our afflicted Country in thoſe days, by this unfortunate and deadly Contention, which would never have been ended, but by the happy conjunction of thoſe two Houſes together in *Henry* the 7th.

Neither yet reſted it ſo (as appeareth by Chronicle) until as I have ſaid, the State had cut off the Iſſue Male of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was cauſe of divers Perils to *Henry* the 7th, by whoſe Siſter the Faction of *Huntingdon*, at this day, doth ſeek to raiſe up the ſame contention again, with far greater danger, both to the Realm, and her Majeſty that now reigneth, then ever before.

And for the Realm it is evident, by that it giveth room to Strangers, Competitors of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, better able to maintain their own Title by the Sword, then ever

ever was any of our Lineage before them.

And for her Majeſty's peril preſent, it is nothing hard to conjecture, ſeeing the ſame Title in the aforeſaid Earl of *Warwick* was ſo dangerous and troubleſome to her Grandfather, by whom ſhe holdeth, as he was fain twice to take up Arms in defence of his Right againſt the ſaid Title, which was in thoſe days preferred and advanced by the Friends of *Clarence*, before that of *Henry*: As alſo this of *Huntingdon* at this day, by his Faction, before that of her Majeſty, tho' never ſo unjuſtly.

Touching *Huntingdon*'s Title before her Majeſty's (quoth the *Lawyer*) I will ſay nothing, becauſe in Reaſon I ſee not by what pretence in the World he may thruſt himſelf ſo far forth, ſeeing her Majeſty is deſcended, not only of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, but alſo before him moſt apparently from the Houſe of *York* it ſelf, as from the eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* the 4th, being the eldeſt Brother of that Houſe.

Whereas *Huntingdon* claimeth only by the Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the younger Brother: But yet I muſt confeſs, that if the *Earl* of *Warwick*'s Title were better than that of King *Henry* the 7th (which is moſt falſe, though many attempt to defend the ſame by Sword) then hath *Hutingdon* ſome wrong at this day by her Majeſty, albeit, in very truth, the attaint of ſo many of his Anceſtors, by whom he claimeth, would anſwer him alſo ſufficiently in that behalf

half, if his Title were otherwiſe allowable.

But I know, beſides this, they have another fetch of King *Richard* the 3d, whereby he would needs prove his elder Brother King *Edward* to be a Baſtard, and conſequently his whole Line, as well Male as Female, to be void; which Device, though it be ridiculous, and was at that time, when it was firſt invented: Yet as *Richard* found at that time a Dr. *Shaw*, that ſhamed not to publiſh and defend the ſame at *Paul's* Croſs in a Sermon: And as *John* of *Northumberland*, my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Father, found out divers Preachers in his time, to ſet up the Houſe of *Suffolk*, and to debaſe the Right of King *Henry*'s Daughter, both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, and other places; ſo I doubt not but theſe Men would find out alſo both *Shaw's*, *Sand*'s and others, to ſet out the Title of *Clarence*, before the whole intereſt of King *Henry* the 7th, and his Poſterity, if occaſion ſerves: Which is a point of importance to be conſidered by her Majeſty; albeit, for my part I mean not now to ſtand thereupon, but only upon that other of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, as I have ſaid.

For, as that moſt Honourable, Lawful and happy conjunction of the two Adverſary Houſes, in King *Henry* the 7th, and his Wife, made an end of ſhedding of *Engliſh* Blood, within it ſelf, and brought us that moſt deſired Peace, which ever ſithence we have enjoyed by the Reign of their two noble Iſſues: So the Plot, that now is in hand, for the cut-

ting off the reſidue of that Iſſue; and for the calling back of the whole Title to the only Houſe of *York* again, is like to plunge us deeper then ever the civil Diſcord did, and to make us the Bait of all foreign Princes: Seeing there be amongſt them at this day ſome of no ſmall Power, who pretend to be the next Heirs by the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and conſequently are not like to give over, or abandon their own Right, if once the Door be opened to contention for the ſame, by diſanulling the Line of King *Henry* the 7th, wherein only the Keys of all Concord remain knit together.

And albeit, I know well, that ſuch as be of my Lord of *Huntingdon*'s party will make ſmall account of the Title of *Lancaſter*, as leſs rightful a deal then that of *York*; Yet I for my part mean not greatly to avouch the ſame, as now it is placed, being my ſelf no favourer of Foreign Titles.

So indifferent Men have to conſider, how it was taken in times paſt, and how it may again in time to come, if contention ſhould ariſe.

How many Noble Perſonages of our Realm did offer themſelves to die in defence thereof? How many Oaths and Laws were given and received throughout the Realm, for maintaining of the ſame, againſt the other Houſe of *York* for ever?

How many worthy Kings were Crowned, and Reigned, of that Houſe and Race? to wit, the Four moſt noble *Henry*'s, one after another, the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, who both in Number, Government, Sanctity,

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Courage, and Feats of Arms, were nothing inferior, if not ſuperior, to thoſe of the other Houſe and Line of *York*, after the diviſion between the Families.

It is to be conſidered alſo, as a ſpecial ſign of the favour and affection of our whole Nation to that Family, that *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, though deſcending but of the laſt Son and third Wife of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, was ſo reſpected for that only, by the univerſal Realm, as they inclined wholly to call him from baniſhment, and to make him King, with the depoſition of *Richard*, which then ruled of the Houſe of *York*, upon condition only that the ſaid *Henry* ſhould take to Wife a daughter of the contrary Family: So great was in thoſe days the affections of the *Engliſh* Hearts, towards the Line of *Lancaſter*, for the great worthineſs of ſuch Kings as had reigned of that Race, how good or bad ſoever their Title were, which I ſtand not here to diſcourſe at this time, but only to inſinuate, what Party the ſame found in our Realm in times paſt, and conſequently how extream dangerous the contention for the ſame may be hereafter, eſpecially ſeeing that at this day, the remainder of this Title is pretended to reſt wholly in a ſtranger, whoſe power is very great, which no Lawyers are wont to eſteem, as a point of no ſmall importance for juſtifying any Man's Title to a Kingdom.

You Lawyers want not Reaſon in that Sir (quoth I) howſoever you want Right, for if you will examine the Succeſſion of Governments from the beginning of the World,

unto this day, either amongſt Gentile, Jew, or Chriſtian People, you ſhall find, that the Sword hath been better than half the Title, to get, eſtabliſh, or maintain a Kingdom.

Which maketh me the more appaled to hear you Diſcourſe in ſuch ſort of new Contentions and Foreign Titles, accompanied with ſuch Power and Strength of the Titlers, which cannot be but infinitely dangerous and fatal to our Realm, if once it come to Action, both for the diviſion that is like to be at home, and the variety of Parties from abroad.

For as the Prince whom you ſignifie, will not fail by all likelyhood to purſue his Title, with all the Forces that he can make, if occaſions were offered, ſo Reaſon, State and Policy will inforce other Princes adjoyning, to lett and hinder him therein what they can, and ſo by this means ſhall become *Judah* and *Iſrael* amongſt themſelves, one killing and vexing the other with the Sword.

And to Foreign Princes we ſhall be, as the Iſland of *Salamina* was in old time to the *Athenians* and *Megareans*, and as the Iſland *Sicily* was afterwards to the *Grecians*, *Carthagenians* and *Romans*, and as in our days the Kingdom of *Naples* hath been to the *Spaniard*, *French-men*, *Germans* and *Venetians*; that is a Bait to feed upon, and a Gain to fight for: Wherefore, I beſeech the Lord to avert from us all occaſions of ſuch Miſeries.

And, I pray you, Sir, for that we are fallen into the mention of ſuch Matters, to take ſuch pains, as to open unto me the Ground of

of theſe Controverſies, ſo long quiet now between *York* and *Lancaſter*, ſeeing they are now like to be raiſed again.

For, albeit, in general I have heard much thereof, yet in particular I either conceive not, or remember not the Foundation of the ſame, and much leſs the State of their ſeveral Titles at this day for that it is Study, and not properly appertaining to my Profeſſion.

The Controverſie between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* (quoth the *Lawyer*) took its actual beginning more than two hundred Years ago, but the Occaſion, Pretence and Cauſe of that Quarrel began in the Children of King *Henry* the Third, who died a hundred Years before that, and left two Sons, *Edward*, who was King after him, by the Name of *Edward* the firſt and was Grandfather to *Edward* the third; *Edmund*, called Crook-back, Earl of *Lancaſter* and beginner of that Houſe, whoſe Inheritance afterward in the fourth Deſcent fell upon a Daughter, Named *Blaunch* who was Married to the fourth Son of King *Edward* the third, named *John* of *Gaunt* for that he was born in the City of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*: So that by this his firſt Wife he became Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Heir of that Houſe.

And for that his Son *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* (afterwards called King *Henry* the fourth) pretended amongſt other things that *Edmund Crookback*, great Grandfather to *Blaunch* his Mother, was the eldeſt Son of King *Hen-*

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ry the third, and unjuſtly put by the Inheritance of the Crown, for that he was Crookback'd and Deformed. He took by force the Kingdom from *Richard* the ſecond, Nephew to King *Edward* the third, by his eldeſt Son, and placed the ſame in the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, where it remained for three whole Deſcents, until afterwards *Edward*, Duke of *York* Deſcended of *John* of *Gaunt*'s younger Brother, making Claim to the Crown by the Title of his Grandfather, that was Heir to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt*'s elder Brother, took the ſame by force from *Henry* the 6th, of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and brought it back again to the Houſe of *York*, where it continued with Trouble in two Kings only, until both Houſes were joyned together in King *Henry* the ſeventh and his Noble Iſſue.

Hereby we ſee, how the Iſſue of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, fourth Son to King *Edward* the third, pretended Right to the Crown, by *Edmund Crookback*, before the Iſſue of all the other three Sons of *Edward* the third, albeit, they were the elder Brothers, whereof we will ſpeak more hereafter.

Now, *John* of *Gaunt*, though he had many Children, yet had he four, only, by whom Iſſue remaineth, two Sons and two Daughters. The firſt Son was *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, who took the Crown from King *Richard* the ſecond, his Uncle's Son (as hath been ſaid) and firſt of all planted the ſame in the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, where it remained

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in two Deſcents after him; that is in his Son, *Henry* the fifth, and in his Nephew, *Henry* the ſixth, who was afterwards deſtroyed with *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, his only Son and Heir, and conſequently all that Line of *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* extinguiſhed by *Edward* the fourth, of the Houſe of *York*. The other Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, was *John*, Earl of *Somerſet*, by *Katherine Swinford*, his third Wife, which *John* had Iſſue, another Duke of *Somerſet*, and he had Iſſue, *Margaret* his Daughter, and Heir, who being Married with Edmund *Tuder*, Earl of *Richmond*, had Iſſue, *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, who after was named King *Henry* the ſeventh, whoſe Line yet indureth. The two Daughters of *John* of *Gaunt* were Married to *Portugal* and *Caſtile*, that is, *Philip*, born of *Blaunch*, Heir to *Edmund Crookback* (as hath been ſaid) was Married to King *John* of *Portugal*, and the other Princes, which have, or make Title to the ſame, and *Katherine*, born of *Conſtance*, Heir of *Caſtile*, was Married back again to *Henry*, King of *Caſtile* in *Spain*, of whom King *Philip* alſo is deſcended.

So that by this we ſee, where the remainder of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* reſteth, if the Line of King *Henry* the ſeventh were extinguiſhed, and what Pretext Foreign Princes may have to ſubdue us, if my Lord of *Huntingdon*, either now, or after her Majeſties Days, will open to them the Door, by ſhutting out the reſt of King *Henry*'s Line, and by drawing back the Title of the only Houſe of *York* again, which

which he pretended to do, upon this that I will now declare.

The Issue of Edward *the third,*

King *Edward* the Third, albeit, he had many Children, yet five only will we speak of at this time, whereof three were elder than *John* of *Gaunt*, and one younger.

1 Edward *the Black Prince.*

The first of the elder was named *Edward* the *Black Prince*, who died before his Father, leaving one only Son, named *Richard* the second, was deposed without Issue, aud put to death by his Cousin Germain, *Henry Bullingbrook*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt* (as hath been said) and there ended the Line of King *Edward*'s first Son, King *Edward*'s second Son was *Willian* of *Hatfield*, who died without Issue.

2 William of Hatfield.

3 Lionel, *Duke of* Clarence.

4 John *of* Gaunt, *Duke of* Lancaster.

5 Edmund *of* Langley, *Duke of* York.

His third Son was *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, whose only Daughter and Heir, called *Philip*, was Married to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, and after that, *Ann* the Daughter and Heir of *Mortimer* was Married to *Richard Plantagonet*, Duke of *York*, Son and Heir of *Edmund* of *Langley*, the first Duke of *York*, which *Edmund* was the first Son of King *Edward* the third, and younger Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*. And this *Edmund* of *Langley* may be called the first beginner of the House of *York*, even as *Edmund Crookback* the beginner of the House of *Lancaster*. This *Edmund Langley* then having a Son, named *Richard*, that Married *Ann Mortimer*, sole Heir to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, joyned two Lines, and two Titles in one, I mean the Line of *Lionel*, and the Line of *Edmund Langley*, who were (as hath been said) the third and fifth Sons

Sons of King *Edward* the third. And for this cauſe the Child that was born of this Marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, ſeeing himſelf ſtrong, and the firſt Line of King *Edward* the third's eldeſt Son, to be extinguiſhed in the death of King *Richard* the ſecond, and ſeeing likewiſe *William* of *Hatfield*, the ſecond Son, died without Iſſue, made demand of the Crown for the Houſe of *York*, by the Title of *Lionel*, the third Son of King *Edward* the third.

And albeit, he could not obtain the ſame in his days, for that he was ſlain in a Battle againſt King *Henry* the 6th at *Wakefield*, yet his Son *Edward* got the ſame, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

This King at his death left divers Children, as, namely, *Edward* the fifth, and his Brother, who after were both Murthered in the *Tower*, as ſhall be ſhewed, and alſo five Daughters, to wit, *Elizabeth*, *Cicely*, *Anne*, *Katherine* and *Bridget*; whereof the firſt was Married to King *Henry* the ſeventh, the laſt became a Nun, and the other three were beſtowed upon divers other Husbands. *The Iſſue of Edward the fourth.*

He had alſo two Brothers, the firſt was called, *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, who afterwards upon his deſerts (as is to be ſuppoſed) was put to death by Commandment of the King.

And

And this Man left behind him a Son, called *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, put to death afterwards without Iſſue by King *Henry* the ſeventh, and a Daughter, named *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Salisbury*, who was Married to a mean Gentleman, named *Richard Poole*, by whom ſhe had Iſſue, Cardinal *Poole*, who died without Marriage, and *Henry Poole*, who was Attainted and Executed in King *Henry* the eighth's time, as alſo her ſelf was. And this *Henry Poole* left a Daughter, Married afterward to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, by whom this Earl that now is, maketh Title to the Crown. And this is the effect of my Lord of *Huntingdon*'s Title?

The Ground of Huntingdon's Title to the Crown.

The ſecond Brother of King *Edward* the fourth, was *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, who after the King's death, cauſed his two Sons to be Murthered in the *Tower*, and took the Kingdom to himſelf, and afterward he being ſlain by King *Henry* the ſeventh at *Boſworth-field*, left no Iſſue behind him.

Wherefore King *Henry* the ſeventh deſcending (as hath been ſhewed) of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* by *John* of *Gaunt*'s laſt Son, and third Wife, and taking to Wife Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth of the Houſe of *York*, joyned moſt happily the two Families together, and made an end of all Controverſies about the Title.

Now King *Henry* the ſeventh had Iſſue three Children, of whom remained Poſterity: Firſt, *Henry* the eighth, of whom deſcended our Sovereign her Majeſty, that now happily

Reigneth

Reigneth, and is the laſt that remaineth alive of that firſt Line.

Secondly, He had two Daughters, whereof the firſt, named *Margaret*, was Married twice, firſt to *James* the fourth, King of *Scotland*, from whom are directly deſcended the Queen of *Scotland*, that now liveth and her Son. And King *James* being dead, *Margaret* was Married again to *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Anguiſe*, by whom ſhe had a Daughter, named *Margaret*, which was Married to *Matthew Steward*, Earl of *Lennox*, whoſe Son, *Charles Stewart* was Married to *Elizabeth Candiſh*, Daughter to the preſent Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his only Heir, a little Daughter, named *Arabella*, of whom you have had ſome Speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, deſcended from the firſt and eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* the ſeventh. *The Line of Scotland, by Margaret, Daughter to Henry the ſeventh.*

The ſecond Daughter of King *Henry* the 7th, called *Mary*, was twice married alſo, firſt to the King of *France*, by whom ſhe had no Iſſue, and after his Death to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, by whom ſhe had two Daughters that is *Frances*, of whom my Lord of *Hertford*'s Children do make their claim; and *Eleanor*, by whom the Iſſue of the Earl of *Darby* pretendeth Right, as ſhall be ſhewed. *The Line and Title of Suffolk, by Mary, ſecond Daughter to Henry the ſeventh.*

For that *Frances*, the firſt Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, by the Queen of *France*, was married to the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, who after *Charles Brandon*'s death, was made Duke of *Suffolk*,

Suffolk, in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queen *Mary*'s time for his Conſpiracy with my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Father.

The Iſſue of Frances, *eldeſt Daughter to* Charles Brandon, *Duke of* Suffolk.

And ſhe had by this Man three Daughters, that is, *Jane* that was married to my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Brother, and proclaimed Queen after King *Edward*'s Death; for which both ſhe and her Husband were executed.

Katharine the Second Daughter had two Sons yet living, by the Earl of *Hertford*; and *Mary* the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The Iſſue of Eleanor, *the ſecond Daughter of* Charles Brandon.

The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, by the Queen of *France*, called *Eleanor*, was married to *George Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, who lefta Daughter by her, named *Margaret*, married to the Earl of *Darby*, which yet liveth and hath Iſſue.

And this is the Title of all the Houſe of *Suffolk*, deſcended from the Second Daughter of *Henry* the 7th, married (as hath been ſhewed) to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*.

And by this you ſee alſo how many there be, who do think their Titles to be far before that of my Lord of *Huntingdon*'s, if either Right, Reaſon, or Conſideration of home Affairs may take place in our Realm: Or, if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad are like to joyn and buckle with *Huntingdon*'s Line for the Preheminence, if once the Matter fall again to Contention, by excluding the

the Line of King *Henry* the ſeventh, which God forbid.

Truly, Sir (quoth I) I well perceive, that my Lord's turn is not ſo nigh as I had thought, whether he exclude the Line of King *Henry* or not.

For if he exclude that, then muſt he enter the Combat with Foreign Titles of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and if he exclude it not, than in all appearance of Reaſon, and in Law too, the Succeſſion of the two Daughters of King *Henry* the ſeventh, which you diſtinguiſhed by the two Names of *Scotland* and *Suffolk*, muſt needs be as clearly before him and his Line, that deſcended only from *Edward* the fourth's Brother, as the Queen's Title that now Reigneth, is before theirs.

For, that both *Scotland* and *Suffolk*, and her Majeſty do hold all by one Foundation, which is the Union of both Houſes and Titles together in King *Henry* the ſeventh, her Majeſties Grandfather.

This is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough in every Man's Eye, and therefore, no doubt, but as much is meant againſt her Majeſty, if occaſion ſerve, as againſt the reſt, that hold by the ſame Title.

Albeit, her Majeſties State (the Lord be praiſed) be ſuch at this time, as it is not ſafety to pretend ſo much againſt her, as againſt the reſt, whatſoever is meant: And that in truth, more ſhould be meant againſt her Highneſs, than againſt the reſt,

there is ſome Reaſon; for that her Majeſty, by her preſent poſſeſſion, letteth more their Deſignments, than all the reſt together with their future Pretences.

But (as I have ſaid) it is not ſafety for them, nor yet good Policy, to declare openly what they mean againſt her Majeſty.

It is the beſt way for the preſent to hew down the reſt, and to leave her Majeſty for the laſt Blow and Upſhot to the Game.

For which Cauſe, they will ſeem to make great difference at this day between her Majeſties Titles, and the reſt that deſcended likewiſe from *Henry* the Seventh, avowing the one, and diſallowing the other.

Albeit, my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Father preferred that of *Suffolk*, when time was before this of her Majeſties, and compelled the whole Realm to Swear thereunto; ſuch is the variable Policy of Men that ſerve the Time, or rather that ſerve themſelves, of all Times for their Purpoſes.

I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was preſent my ſelf at ſome of thoſe his Proclamations for that purpoſe. Wherein my Lord, his Son, that now liveth, being then a doer, as I can tell he was, I marvel how he can deal ſo contrary now, preferring, not only her Majeſties before that of *Suffolk* (whereof I wonder the leſs becauſe it is more gainful to him) but alſo another much further off.

But you have ſignified the Cauſe, in that the Times are changed, and other Bargains are in hand of more importance for him.

Wherefore, leaving it to be conſidered of others whom it concerneth; I beſeech you, Sir, for that I know your Worſhip hath been much converſant among their Friends and Favourers, to tell me, what are the Bars and Letts which they do alledge, why the Houſes of *Scotland* and *Suffolk*, deſcending of King *Henry* the Seventh's Daughters, ſhould not ſucceed in the Crown of *England* after her Majeſty, who endeth the Line of the ſame King by his Son, for in my ſight the Matter appeareth very plain.

They want no Pretences of Bars and Letts againſt them all (quoth the Gentleman) which I will lay down in order, as I have heard them alledge. Firſt, in the Line of *Scotland* there is three Perſons, as you know that may pretend to Right, that is, the Queen and her Son, by the firſt Marriage of *Margaret*, and *Arabella* by the ſecond. Againſt the firſt Marriage I hear nothing affirmed, but againſt the two Perſons proceeding thereof, I heard them alledge three ſtops; one, for that they are Strangers born out of the Land, and conſequently uncapable of Inheritance, within the ſame, another, for that by ſpecial Teſtament of King *Henry* the Eighth, authorized by two ſeveral Parliaments, they are excluded: The third, for that they are Enemies to the Religion now received amongſt us, and therefore to be debarred.

Againſt the ſecond Marriage of *Margaret* with *Archibald Douglas*, whereof *Arabella* is deſcended, they alledge, that the ſaid *Archibald* had a former Wife at the time of that Marriage, which lived long after, and ſo neither that Marriage Lawful, nor the Iſſue Legitimate. The ſame Bar they have againſt all the Houſe and Line of *Suffolk*.

For, firſt, they ſay, that *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, had a known Wife alive, when he Married *Mary*, Queen of *France*, and conſequently, that neither the Lady *Frances*, nor *Eleanor* born of that Marriage, can be lawfully born; and this is all I can hear them ſay againſt the Succeſſion of the Counteſs of *Darby*, deſcended of *Eleanor*.

But againſt my Lord of *Hartford*'s Children that come from *Frances*, the eldeſt Daughter, I hear them alledge two or three Baſtardiſes more, beſides this of the firſt Marriage.

For, firſt, they affirm, that *Henry*, Marquiſs *Dorſet*, when he Married the Lady *Frances*, had to Wife the old Earl of *Arundel*'s Siſter, who lived both then, and many Years after, and had a Proviſion out of his Living to her dying Day, whereby that Marriage could no way be good.

Secondly, That the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to the ſaid Lady *Frances* by the Marquiſs, by whom the Earl of *Hartford* had his

his Children, was Lawfully Married to the Earl of *Pembrook* that now liveth, and conſequently could have no Lawful Iſſue by another during his Life.

Thirdly, that the ſaid *Katherine* was never Lawfully Married to the Earl of *Hartford*, but bare him thoſe Children as his Concubine, which, as they ſay, is defined and regiſtred in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Court, upon due Examination, taken by order of her Majeſty that now Reigneth. And this in effect is ſo much as I have heard them alledge about theſe Affairs.

It is much (quoth I) that you have ſaid, if it may be all proved, marry, yet by the way, I cannot but ſmile to hear my Lord of *Leiceſter* allow of ſo many Baſtards now upon the Iſſue of the Lady *Frances*, whom in times paſt, when *Jane* her eldeſt Daughter was Married to his Brother, he advanced In Legitimation before both the Daughters of King *Henry* the eighth.

But to the Purpoſe, I would gladly know, what Grounds of Verity thoſe Allegations have, and how far in truth they may ſtop from Inheritance, for indeed I never heard them ſo diſtinctly alledged before.

Whereunto (anſwered the Gentleman) that our Friend, the *Lawyer* could beſt reſolve that, if it pleaſed him to ſpeak without his Fee; though in ſome parts alledged, every other Man (quoth he) that knoweth the State and Government of *England*, may eaſily give his judgment alſo.

As in the Case of Bastardy, if the Matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no Right to Inheritance can justly be pretended: As also perhaps in the case of Foreign Birth; though in this I am not so cunning, yet I see by experience, that Foreigners born in other Lands, can hardly come and claim Inheritance here in *England*.

Albeit, to the contrary I have heard great and long Disputes, but such as indeed passed my Capacity, and if it might please our Friend here present, to expound the thing unto us more clearly, I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with Attention.

To this (answered the *Lawyer*) I will gladly, Sir, tell you my mind in any thing it shall please you to demand, and much more in this Matter, wherein by occasion of often Conference, I am somewhat perfect.

The Impediments which these Men alledge against the Succession of King *Henry* the Eighth's Sisters, are of two kinds, as you see.

Bastardies Lawful Steps.

The one known and allowed in our Law, as you have well said, if it may be proved, and that is Bastardy, whereby they seek to disable all the whole Line and Race of *Suffolk*, and also *Arabella* of the second and latter House of *Scotland*, whereof it is to small purpose to speak any thing here; seeing the whole Controversie standeth upon a Matter of Fact only, to be proved or disproved by Records or Witnesses. Only, this

this I will say, that some of these Bastardies, before named, are rife in many Mens Mouths, and avowed by divers that yet live, but yet let other Men look to this, who have most interest therein, and may be most damnified by them, if they fall not true.

The other Impediments which are alledged only against the Queen of *Scots*, and her Son, are in number three, as you recite them, that is Foreign Birth. 3 *Impediments against* Scotland.

King *Henry*'s Testament and Religion; whereof I am content to say somewhat, seeing you desire it.

Albeit, there be so much already Published in Books of divers Languages beyond the Seas (as I am informed) concerning this Matter, as more cannot be said: But yet, as much as I have heard pass among Lawyers, my betters in Conference of these Affairs, I will not lett to recite unto you, with this Proviso and Protestation always, that what I speak I speak by way of other Mens Opinions not meaning my self to incur the Statute of Affirming and Avowing any Persons Title to the Crown whatsoever.

First, Then touching Foreign Birth.

There be some Men in the World, that will say that it is a common and general Rule in our Law that no Stranger at all may inherit any thing by any means within the Land, which in truth I take to be spoken without ground in that general Sense: For I could never yet come to the *The first Impediment of Foreign Birth.*

ſight of any ſuch common or univerſal Rule, and I know, that divers Examples may be alledged in ſundry Caſes to the contrary; and by that which is expreſly ſet down in the ſeventh and ninth year of King *Edward* the fourth, and in the eleventh and fourteenth Year of King *Henry* the fourth, it appeareth plainly, that a Stranger may purchaſe Lands in *England*, as alſo inherit by his Wife, if he Marry an Inheritrix.

Wherefore, this common Rule is to be reſtrained from that Generality unto proper Inheritance only, in which Senſe, I do eaſily grant that our Common-Law hath been of ancient, and is at this day, that no Perſon born out of the Allegiance of the King of *England*, whoſe Father and Mother were not of the ſame Allegiance at the time of his Birth, ſhall be able to have or demand any heritage within the ſame Allegiance, or be Heir to any Perſon.

A Maxim againſt Aliens.

And this Rule of our Common Law is gathered out of the ſelf ſame Words of a Statute made in the Twenty fifth year of King *Edward* the third, which indeed is the only place of effect, that can be alledged out of our Law, againſt the Inheritance of ſtrangers, in ſuch ſenſe, and caſes as we treat of.

And albeit, now the common Law of our Country do run thus in general, yet will the Friends of the *Scottiſh* claim a farm, that thereby

thereby that Title is nothing lett or hindred at all towards the Crown.

Reaſons why the Scottiſh Titles not leited by the Maxim in Law againſt Aliens.

And that for divers manifeſt and weighty Reaſons whereof the principal are theſe that enſue.

The firſt Reaſon.

Firſt, it is a common and general Rule of our *Engliſh* Laws, that no Rule, Axiom or Maxim of Law, be it never ſo general, can touch or bind the Crown, except expreſs mention be made thereof.

For that the King and Crown have great Priviledge or Prerogative, above the State and Affairs of Subjects, and great Differences allowed in points of Law.

As for Example, it is a general and common Rule of Law, that the Wife, after the deceaſe of her Husband, ſhall enjoy the thirds of his Lands; but yet, the Queen ſhall not enjoy the third part of the Crown, after the deceaſe of the King, as well appeareth by experience and is to be ſeen by Law: *Anno* 5 and 22 of *Edward* the third, and *Anno* 9 and 28 of *Henry* the ſixth.

Alſo, it is a common Rule, that the Huſband ſhall hold his Wives Lands after her Death, as Tenant by Courteſy, during his Life; but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdom.

In like manner, it is a common and general Rule, that if a Man die ſeized of Land in Fee ſimple, having Daughters, and no Son, his Lands ſhall be divided by equal Portions amongſt his Daughters, which holdeth not

not in the Crown, but rather the eldeſt Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if ſhe were the Iſſue Male.

So is it a common Rule in our Law, that the Executors ſhall have all the Goods and Chattels of the Teſtator: but yet not ſo in the Crown.

And ſo in many other Cauſes and Caſes, which might be recited, it is evident, that the Crown hath Priviledge above others, and can be ſubject to no Rule, be it never ſo general, except expreſs mention thereof be made in the ſame Law, as it is not in the former Place and Statute alledged, but rather to the contrary (as after ſhall be ſhewed) there is expreſs exception of ſuch as deſcend of Royal Blood.

The Second Reaſon. The Second Reaſon is, for that the Demand or Title of a Crown, cannot in true ſenſe be comprehended under the Words of the former Statute, forbidding Aliens to demand Heritage within the Allegiance of *England*, and that for two reſpects: The one for that the Crown it ſelf cannot be called an heritage of Allegiance, or within Allegiance: For that it is holden of no Superior upon Earth, but immediately from God himſelf: The Second for that this Statute treateth only, and meaneth of Inheritance, by deſcent or heir of the ſame.

For I have ſhewed before, that Aliens may hold Lands by purchaſe, within our Dominion, and then ſay they, the Crown is a thing

thing incorporate, and deſcendeth not according to the common courſe of other private Inheritances, but goeth by ſucceſſion, as other Incorporations do.

In ſign whereof it is evident, that albeit the King be more favoured in all his doings, then any common perſon ſhall be; yet cannot be avoided by Law his Grants, and Letters Patents, by reaſon of his Non-age, as other Infants, and common Heirs under age may do, but always be ſaid to be full age, in reſpect of his Crown: Even as a Prior, Parſon, Vicar, Dean and other Perſon incorporate ſhall be; which cannot by any means in Law be ſaid to be within age, in reſpect of their Incorporations; which thing maketh an evident difference in our caſe from the meaning of the former Statute for that a Prior, Dean, or Parſon, being Aliens, and no Deniſons, might always in time of Peace demand Lands in *England*, in reſpect of their Incorporations notwithſtanding the Statute or Common-law againſt Aliens, as appeareth by many Book Caſes yet extant, as alſo by the Statute made in the time of King *Richard* the Second which was after the aforeſaid of King *Edward* the Third.

The Third Reaſon.

The Third Reaſon is, for that in the former Statute it ſelf of King *Edward* the Third, there are expreſly exempted from this general Rule, *Infants du Roy*, that is, the King's Off-ſpring or Iſſue, as the Word Infant doth ſignifie both in *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Countrys, as the Latin

tin Word *Liberi*, which anſwereth the ſame, is taken commonly in the Civil Law: Neither may we reſtrain the *French* Words of that Statute, *Infants du Roy*, that is the King's Children, only of the firſt degree, as ſome do; for that the barrenneſs of our Language doth yeild us no other word for the ſame; but rather that thereby is underſtood, as well the Nephews, and other Deſcendents of the King or Royal Blood, as his immediate Children.

For it were both unreaſonable and ridiculous, that King *Edward* by this Statute, would go about to diſinherit his own Nephews, if he ſhould have any born out of his own Allegiance, as eaſily he might at that time, his Sons being much abroad from *England*, and the black Prince, his eldeſt Son, having two Children born beyond the Seas: And ſo conſequently it is apparent, that this Rule or Maxim againſt Aliens ſet down, is no way to be ſtretched againſt the deſcendents of the King, or of the Blood Royal.

The fourth Reaſon. The Fourth Reaſon is, that the meaning of King *Edward* (the Children living at ſuch time as this Statute was made) could not be, that any of their Lineage or Iſſue ſhould be excluded in Law from inheritance of their Right to the Crown by their Foreign Birth whereſoever.

For then they would not ſo much have diſperſed their own Blood in other Countries,

tries, as they did by giving their Daughters to Strangers.

As *Lyonel*, the King's Third Son, was married in *Millan*; and *John* of *Gaunt* the Fourth Son, gave his Two Daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine*, to *Portugal* and *Caſtile*, and his Neice *Joan* to the King of *Scots*; as alſo *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the youngeſt Brother married his Two Daughters, the one to the King of *Spain*, the other to the Duke of *Britain*: Which no doubt they being wiſe Princes, and ſo near of the Blood-royal, would not have done it, if they had imagined, that thereby their Iſſue ſhould have loſt any Claim or Title to the Crown of *England*; and therefore it is moſt evident, that no ſuch Bar was then extent or imagined. *The matches of England with Foreigners.*

The fifth reaſon is, that divers Perſons, born out of all *Engliſh* Dominions and Allegiance, both before the Conqueſt, ſithence have been admitted to the Succeſſion of our Crown, as Lawful Inheritors, without any exception againſt them, for their Foreign Birth. *The fifth Reaſon.*

As before the Conqueſt, is evident in young *Edgar*, born in *Hungary*, and thence called home to inherit the Crown, by his great Uncle King *Edward* the Confeſſor, with full conſent of the whole Realm; the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, being ſent as Ambaſſador to fetch him Flore's *Hiſtory*, Anno 1066.

him home with his Father, named *Edward* the Out-law.

And ſince the Conqueſt, it appeareth plainly in King *Stephen*, and King *Henry* the Second, both of them out of *Engliſh* Dominions, their Parents alſo at their Birth, being not of the Allegiance, and yet were they both admitted to the Crown: Young Prince *Arthur* in like manner, Duke of *Britain* by his Mother *Conſtance*, that match'd with *Jeffery*, King *Henry* the Second's Son, was declared by King *Richard* his Uncle, at his departure towards *Jeruſalem*, and by the whole Realm, for Lawful Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, though he was born in *Britain* out of *Engliſh* Allegiance, and ſo he was taken and adjudged by all the World at that day.

Albeit, after King *Richard*'s Death, his other Uncle *John* moſt tyrannouſly, took both his Kingdom and his Life from him: For which notable Injuſtice, he was deteſted of Men, both abroad and at home, and moſt apparently ſcourged by God, with grievous and manifold Plagues, both upon himſelf and the Realm, that yeilded to his Uſurpation.

So that by that it appeareth, what the practice of our Country hath been from time to time in this caſe, of Foreign Birth, which practice is the beſt Interpreter of our Engliſh Law,

Law, which dependeth especially and most of all upon Custom; nor can the Adversaries alledge any one Example to the contrary.

Their Sixth Reason is of the Judgment and Sentence of King *Henry* the 7th, and of his Counsel, who being together in Consultation at a certain time about the Marriage of *Margaret* the eldest Daughter into *Scotland*, some of his Counsel moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the King's Issue Male should fail, and so the Succession devolve to the Heirs of the said *Margaret*, (as now it doth) whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer, that if any such event shou'd be, it could not be prejudicial to *England*, being the bigger part, but rather beneficial, for that should draw *Scotland* to *England*, that is, the lesser to the more, even as in times past, it happened in *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, and some other Provinces: Which Answer appeased all doubts, and gave singular contentation to those of his Counsel, as *Polydor* writeth, who lived at that time, and wrote the special matters of that Reign, by the King's own instruction. *The Sixth Reason.*

So that thereby we see no question made of King *Henry* and his Counsellors, touching Foreign Birth, to lett the Succession of the Lady *Margaret*'s Issue, which no doubt would never have been omitted in that Learn-

Learned Aſſembly, if any Law at that time had been eſteemed or imagined to bar the ſame.

Theſe are Six of their principalleſt Reaſons, to prove that neither by the Words nor Meaning of our Common Laws, nor yet by Cuſtom or Practice of our Realm, an Alien may be debarred from claim of his Intereſt to the Crown, when it falleth to him by rightful deſcent in Blood and Succeſſion.

The Queen of Scots *and her Son no Alien.*

But in the particular caſe of the Queen of *Scott*'s and her Son, they do add another reaſon or two, thereby to prove them in very deed no Aliens; not only in reſpect of their often and continual mixture with *Engliſh* Blood from the beginning (and eſpecially of late the Queen's Grandmother and Huſband being *Engliſh*, and ſo her Son begotten of an *Engliſh* Father) but alſo for two other Cauſes and Reaſons, which ſeem in truth of very good importance too.

Reaſon 1.

The firſt is, for that *Scotland* by all *Engliſhmen* (howſoever the *Scots* denie the ſame) is taken and holden as Subject to *England*, by way of homage, which many of their Kings at divers times have acknowledged, and conſequently the Queen and her Son, being born in *England*, are not born out of the Allegiance of *England*, and ſo no Foreigners.

The

The ſecond cauſe or reaſon, for that the fore-nam'd Statute of Foreigners in the 25th year of King *Edward* III. is intitul'd of thoſe that are beyond the Seas, whereby cannot be underſtood *Scotland*, for it is a piece of the Continent Land within the Seas, and whereby alſo cannot be underſtood our old Rocords in *England*, that talk of ſervice to be done within theſe two Countries, and that uſe theſe *Latin* words, *Infra quatuor Maria*, or in *French Dens ſes quatre Mers*, that is, within the four Seas; whereby muſt needs be underſtood as well *Scotland* as *England*, and that perhaps for the reaſon beforementi-on'd, of the ſubjection of *Scotland* by way of homage to the Crown of *England*, in reſpect whereof, it may be that it was accounted of old but one Dominion or Allegiance; and conſequently no Man born therein can be counted an Alien to *England*. And this ſhall ſuffice for the firſt point touching Foreign Nativity. For the ſecond impediment objected, which is, the Teſtament of *Henry* VIII. authoriz'd by the Parliament, whereby they affirm the Succeſſion of *Scotland* not to be excluded, but only that they are put back behind the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Suffolk*. For in that pretended Teſtament, which after ſhall be prov'd to be none indeed, King *Henry* ſo diſpoſeth that after his own Children, if they ſhould chance to die without Iſſue, the Crown ſhould paſs to the Heirs of *Frances* and *Elianor* his Neices by his youngeſt Siſter *Mary*, Queen of *France*, *Reaſon 2*

and after them deceaſing alſo without Iſſue, the Succeſſion to return to the next Heirs again. Whereby it is evident, that the Succeſſion of *Margaret*, Queen of *Scotland*'s eldeſt Siſter is not excluded, but thruſt back only from their due place and order to expect the remainders, which may in time be left by the younger; whereof in my opinion do enſue ſome conſiderations againſt the preſent Pretenders themſelves. Firſt, that in King *Henry*'s judgment, the former pretended rule of Foreign Birth was no ſufficient impediment againſt *Scotland*; for if it had been, no doubt, but that he would have nam'd the ſame in his alledg'd Teſtament, and thereby have utterly excluded that Succeſſion, but there is no ſuch thing in the Teſtament. Secondly, if they admit this Teſtament which allotteth the Crown to *Scotland* next after *Suffolk*, which by all Mens aſſertions is excluded by Baſtardy; it muſt needs follow, that *Scotland* by their own judgment is next, and ſo this Teſtament will make againſt them, as indeed it doth in all points moſt apparently, but only that it preferreth the Houſe of *Suffolk* before the Houſe of *Scotland*. And therefore I think, Sir, that you miſtake ſomewhat about their opinion in alledging this Teſtament. For if, ſuppoſe, that no Man of my Lord *Huntingdon*'s will alledge or urge the Teſtimony of this Teſtament, but rather ſome Friends of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, in whoſe favour

favour, I take it, that it was firſt of all forg'd.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I ſtand obſtinately in the contrary, for that it is hard to judge ſometimes of what Faction each one is, who diſcourſeth of theſe affairs. But yet I marvel (if it is as you ſay) *Leiceſter*'s Father, after King *Edward*'s death, made no mention thereof in the favour of *Suffolk*, in the other Teſtament which then he proclaim'd, and made by King *Edward* deceas'd, for preferment of *Suffolk* before his own Siſter. The Cauſe of this is evident (quoth tht Lawyer) that it made not ſufficiently for his purpoſe, which was, to diſinherit the two Daughters of King *Henry* himſelf, and advance the Houſe of *Suffolk* above them both.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that it be ſo much exalted of late by the Father, above all Order, Right, Rank or Degree, ſhould now be ſo much debas'd by the Son, as tho it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be trodden under foot for plain Baſtardy. And you ſee by this how true it is which I told you before, that the the Race of the *Dudleys* are moſt cunning Merchants to make their gain of all things, Men and Times. And as we have ſeen now two Teſtaments alledg'd, the one of the King's Father, the other of the King's Son, and both of them in the prejudice of the Teſtator's true

Succeſſors: So many good Subjects begin greatly to fear, that we may chance ſhortly to ſee a third Teſtament of Her Majeſty, for the entitling *Huntingdon*'s, and extirpation of King *Henry*'s Blood, and that before her Majeſty can think of Sickneſs, wherein I beſeech the Lord I be not a Prophet. But now Sir, to the aforeſaid Will and Teſtament of King *Henry*: I have not often heard in truth that the thing was counterfeit, or at the leaſt, not able to be proved, and that it was diſcovered, rejected, and defaced in Queen *Mary*'s time; but I would gladly underſtand what you Lawyers eſteem and judge thereof.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot be denied, but that in the 28th and 29th years of King *Henry*'s Reign, upon ſome Doubt and Irreſolution which the King himſelf ſhewed to have for the order of Succeſſion in his own Children, as alſo for taking away all occaſions of controverſies in thoſe of the Blood, the whole Parliament gave authority unto the ſaid King to debate and determine thoſe matters himſelf, together with his learned Council who beſt knew the Laws of the Realm, and Titles that any Man have thereby; and that whatſoever Succeſſion his Majeſty ſhould declare as moſt right and lawful, under his Letters Patents ſealed, or by his laſt Will and Teſtament rightfully made, and ſigned with his own Hand, that the ſame ſhould be

be receiv'd for good and lawful. Upon pretence whereof ſoon after King *Henry*'s death, there was a Will ſhew'd, with the King's Stamp at the ſame, and the Names of divers Witneſſes, wherein as hath been ſaid, the Succeſſion of the Crown after the King's own Children, is aſſign'd to the Heirs of *Frances* and *Elianor*, Nieces to the King by his younger Siſter; which Aſſignation of the Crown (being as it were a meer Jeſt in prejudice of the elder Siſters, who were omitted in the ſame Aſſignation, and their Heirs intitled only) was eſteem'd to be againſt all Reaſon, Law and Nature, and conſequently not thought to proceed from ſo wiſe and ſage a Prince as King *Henry* was known to be; but rather, either the whole forg'd, or at leaſtwiſe that Clauſe inſerted by others, and the King's Stamp ſet unto it after his Death, or when his Majeſty lay now paſt Underſtanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers moſt evident Reaſons and Proofs. For firſt, it is not probable, nor credible, that King *Henry* would ever go about, againſt all Law and Reaſon, to diſinherit the Line of his eldeſt Siſter, without any Profit or Intereſt to himſelf, and thereby ſeeing that in ſuch a caſe of manifeſt and apparent wrong in ſo great a matter, the Authority of the Parliament taketh little effect againſt the true and lawful Inheritor, as well appeared in the former times, and Contentions of *Henry* the VIth, *Edward* the IVth, and *Richard*

the III. in whoſe Reigns the divers and contrary Parliaments made and holden againſt the next Inheritor, held no longer with any Man, than until the other was able to make his own Party good. So likewiſe in the caſe of King *Edward* the III. his Succeſſion to *France* in the Right of his Mother, though he were excluded by a General Aſſembly, and Conſent of their Parliaments, yet he eſteemed not his Right extinguiſh'd thereby, as neither did other Kings of our Country that enſued after him. And for our preſent caſe, if nothing elſe ſhould have reſtrain'd King *Henry* from ſuch open Injuſtice towards his eldeſt Siſter, yet this Cogitation at leaſt would have ſtayed, that by giving Example of ſupplanting his eldeſt Siſter's Line by virtue of a Teſtament, or pretence of Parliament, ſome other might take occaſion to diſplace his Children by the like pretence. As we ſee that Duke *Dudley* did ſoon after by a forg'd Teſtament of King *Edward* the VIth. So ready Scholars there are to be found, which will eaſily learn ſuch Leſſons of Iniquity. Secondly, there be many Incongruities and Indignities in the ſaid pretended Will, to proceed from ſo learned a Council, and ſuch a Prince as King *Henry* was: For firſt, what can be more ridiculous than to give the Crown to the Heirs of *Frances* and *Elianor*, and not to any of themſelves? Or wherein had they offended, that their Heirs ſhould enjoy

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the Crown in their Right and not themſelves. What if King *Henry*'s Children ſhould have died all, whilſt the Lady *Frances* had been yet alive? Who ſhould have poſſeſs'd the Kingdom before her, ſeeing her Line was next? And yet by this Teſtament ſhe could not pretend her ſelf to obtain it, but rather having marry'd *Adrian Stookes* her Horſe-keeper, ſhe muſt have ſuffer'd her Son by him (if ſhe had any) to enjoy the Crown, and ſo *Adrian* of Serving-Man and Maſter of Horſes, ſhould have become the Great Maſter and Protector of *England*. A little abſurdity is that other Clauſe alſo, wherein the King bindeth his own Daughters to marry by conſent and direction of his Council, or otherwiſe to loſe the benefit of their Succeſſion; but yet bindeth not his Niece's Daughters, to wit, the Daughters of *Frances* and *Elianor* (if they had any) to any ſuch condition. Thirdly, there be divers Cauſes and Arguments alledg'd in Law why this intended Will is not authentical, if otherwiſe, it were certain that King *Henry* had meant it. Firſt, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended only to give Authority for Declaration and Explanation of the true Title, and not for Donation, and intricating of the ſame to the ruine of the Realm. Secondly, for that there is no lawful or authentical Copy extant, but only a bare Inrollment in the

Chancery, which is not ſufficient in ſo weighty an Affair; no Witneſſes of the Privy Council, or of the Nobility to the ſame, which had been convenient in ſo great a caſe, for the beſt of the Witneſſes therein nam'd is Sir *John Gates*, whoſe miſerable death is well known, no publick Notary, no Probation of the Will before any Biſhop, or any lawful Court for that purpoſe, no examination of Witneſſes or other things orderly done, for lawful authorizing of this matter. But of all other things this is moſt of Importance, that the King never ſet his own Hand to the aforeſaid Will, but his Stamp was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when he was paſt remembrance: As the late Lord *Paget* in the beginuing of Queen *Mary*'s days, being of the Privy Conncil, firſt of all others diſcovered the ſame of his own accord, and upon meer motion of Conſcience, confeſſing before the whole Council, and afterwards before the whole Parliament, how that himſelf was privy thereunto, and partly alſo culpable, being drawn thereunto by the inſtigation and forcible Authority of others, but afterwards upon other more Godly motions, deteſted the Device, and ſo of his own free Will very honourably went and offer'd the diſcovery thereof to the Council. As alſo did Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord Chief Juſtice, that had been privy and preſent at the ſaid doings, and one *William Clark*, that

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was the Man that put the Stamp unto the Paper and is adſcrib'd. Amongſt other pretended Witneſſes, confeſſed the whole Premiſſes to be true, and purchas'd his Pardon for his Offence therein. Whereupon Queen *Mary* and her Council preſently cauſed the ſaid Inrollment lying in the Chancery to be cancell'd, defac'd, and aboliſhed. And ſithence in Her Majeſty's days that now liveth, about the 11th or 12th Year of her Reign, (if I count not amiſs) by occaſion of a certain little Book ſpread abroad at that time very ſecretly, for advancing of the Houſe of *Suffolk* by pretence of this Teſtament. I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, which then was Treaſurer, the old Earls of *Pembroke* and *Arundel* who are now dead, with my Lord of *Pembroke* that now liveth, as alſo my lord of *Leiceſter* himſelf (if I be not deceived) with divers others, met together about this matter, and after long Conference about the foreſaid pretended Will, and many Proofs and Reaſons laid down why it could not be true or authentical, the old Earl of *Pembroke* proteſting, that he was with the King in his Chamber from the firſt Day of his Sickneſs, untill his laſt hour, and thereby well aſſured the falſification thereof, At length it was moved, that from that place they ſhould go with the reſt of the Nobility and proclaim the Queen of *Scotland* Heir apparent in *Cheapſide*;

ſide; wherein my Lord of *Leiceſter* was then as forward (as I take it as any Man elſe; howbeit now for his Profit he be turned aſide, and would turn back again to morrow next for a greater Commodity. And albeit for ſome Cauſes to themſelves beſt known, they proceeded not to the open Publiſhing of their determination at that time, yet my Lord of *Pembroke* now living, can bear witneſs that thus much is true; and that his Father the old Earl told him openly at that time before the other Noblemen, that he had brought him to that Aſſembly and Place to inſtruct him in that truth, and to charge him to witneſs the ſame, and to defend it alſo with his Sword if need required after his Death. And I know that his Lordſhip is of that Honour and Ability, that he cannot leave off eaſily the remembrance, or due regard of ſo worthy an Admonition.

And this ſhall ſuffice for the ſecond Impediment imagin'd to proceed of this ſuppoſed Teſtament of King *Henry* the VIII. As for the third Impediment of Religion, it is not general to all, for that only one Perſon (if I be not deceived) of all the Competitors in King *Henry*'s Line, can be touched with Suſpicion of deficient Religion from the preſent State of *England*; which Perſon notwithſtanding (as it is well known) while ſhe was in Government in her own Realm of *Scotland*, permitted all Liberty of Concience' and free exerciſe of Religion to thoſe of the contrary Profeſſion and Opininon, without reſtraint. And if

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ſhe had not, yet do I not ſee either by preſcript of leave or practice of theſe our times, that diverſity of Religion may ſtay juſt Inheritors from Injoying their due poſſeſſions in any ſtate or degree of private Men, and much leſs in the claim of a Kingdom, which always in this behalf is preferr'd by priviledge. This we ſee by experience in divers Countries and parts of the World at this day; as in *Germany*, where, amongſt ſo many Princes, and ſo divided in Religion as they be, yet every one ſucceedeth to the Eſtate where he hath Right without reſiſtance for his Religion. The Example alſo of her Majeſty that now is, and of her Siſter before is obedient, who being known to be of two different Inclinations in Religion, and the whole Realm divided in opinion for the ſame cauſe, yet both of them at their ſeveral times with general conſent of all, were admitted to their ſeveral Inheritances, excepting only a few Traitors againſt the former, who withſtood her Right as alſo in her the Right of her Majeſty that is preſent, and that not for Religion, as appears by their own confeſſion after, but for Ambition and deſire of Reign. Monſieur, the King's Brother, and Heir of *France*, as alſo the World knoweth it well accepted, favour'd, and admitted for Succeſſion of that Crown by all the Proteſtants at this day in that Coutry, notwithſtanding his opinion in Religion

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known to be different. And I doubt not but the King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Conde* on the contrary part would think themſelves greatly injur'd by the State of *France*, (which is different from them in Religion at this day) if after the death of the King that now is, and his Brother, without Iſſue (if God ſo diſpoſe) they ſhould be debarr'd from inheriting the Crown, under pretence only of their Religion. My Lord of *Huntingdon* himſelf alſo, Is he not known to be of a different Religion from the preſent ſtate of *England*? And that if he were King to morrow, he would alter the whole Government, under condition and ſtate of Religion now us'd in the Realm? But as I ſaid in the beginning, if one of a whole Family, or of divers Families be culpable, or to be touch'd herein, what have the reſt offended thereby? Will you excuſe all for the miſlike of one and deſcend in order of the thing. The King of *Scotland* her Son, that next enſuing to King *Henry*'s Loins after her Majeſty may be touch'd in this point, yet why ſhould the reſt be damnify'd thereby, to ſpeak in equity, why ſhould he be ſhut out for his Religion? Are not all the other in like manner Proteſtants, whoſe deſcent is conſequently by Nature, Order and Degree?

For the young King of *Scots* (quoth I) the truth is, that always for my own part have had great hope and expectation of him

him, not only for the conceit which commonly Men have of ſuch Orient Youths born to Kingdoms, but eſpecially for that I underſtood from time to time, that his Education was in all Learning, Princely Exerciſes; and inſtructions of true Religion under pure and vertuous Men for that purpoſe; whereby I concerted hope that he might not only become in time, an honourable and profitable Neighbour unto us, for aſſurance of the Goſpel in theſe parts of the World; but alſo if God ſhould deprive us of her Majeſty without Iſſue, might be a means by his Succeſſion to unite in Concord and Government the two Realms together, which heretofore hath been ſought by the price of many thouſand Men's Blood, and not obtain'd. Marry yet now of late, I know not by what means, there is begot in Men's hearts a certain miſlike and grudge againſt him, for that it is given out every where, that he is enclin'd to be a Papiſt, and an Enemy to her Majeſty's proceedings, which argues him verily of ſingular ingratitude, if it be true, conſidering the great helps and protections which he hath receiv'd from her Majeſty ever ſince he was born.

And are you ſo ſimple (quoth the Gentleman) to believe every report that you hear of this matter? Know you not that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leiceſter* and his Faction, that this youth above all other be held in perpetual diſgrace with her

her Majeſty and with this Realm? You know that *Richard* of *Gloceſter* had never been able to have uſurp'd as he did, if he had not firſt perſwaded King *Edward* the IV to hate his own Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke ſtood in the way between *Richard* and the thing he moſt of all coveted, that is, the poſſibility of the Crown, and ſo in this caſe is there the like to be obſerv'd. For truly, for the young King of *Scot*'s Religion it is as evident to as many as have reaſon, that it can be no other of it ſelf, but enclin'd to the beſt, both in reſpect of his Education, Inſtruction, and Converſation with thoſe of true Religion, as alſo by his former Actions, Edicts, Government and private Behaviour he hath declared. Marry theſe Men whoſe Profit is nothing leſs than that he or any other of that Race ſhould do well, do not ceaſe daily by all ſecret ways, drifts and moleſtations poſſible, either to drive them off our Religion, or elſe to incur the ſuſpicion thereof with ſome of our Realm, that otherwiſe would be his beſt Friends, or if not this, for very need and fear of his own Life, to make recourſe to ſome other Princes abroad, as may moſt offend and miſlike this State. And for this cauſe, they ſuborn certain buſy Fellows of their own Crew and Faction, pertaining to the Miniſtry of *Scotland* (but unworthy of ſo worthy a Calling) to uſe ſuch inſolence toward their King and Prince, as is not only

only indecent but intolerable. For he may do nothing but they will examine and diſcuſs the ſame in open Pulpit. If he goes out or hunting when it pleaſeth them to call him to their Preaching; if he make but a Dinner or a Supper, when or where or with whom, they like not; if he receive but a Couple of Horſes, or other Preſent form his Friends or Kinſmen beyond the Seas; if he ſaluteth or uſeth courteouſly, or Man or Meſſenger which cometh from them; (as you know Princes of their Nobility and Courteſy are accuſtom'd to do, tho' they come from their Enemies, as often hath been ſeen and highly commended in her Majeſty of *England*) if he deal familiarly with any Ambaſſadour which liketh them not; and finally, if he ſay or ſignify any one thing whatſoever that pleaſeth not their humour, they will preſently, as ſeditious Tribunes of the People, exclaim in Publick, and ſtepping to the Pulpit (where the word of God ought only to be preach'd) will exite the Commonalty to diſcontentation, and enveighing againſt their Sovereign with ſuch bitterneſs of Speech, irreverent Terms, and inſolent Controllments, as is not to be ſpoken. Now imagine what her Majeſty and great Council would do in *England* if ſuch proceedings ſhould be us'd by the Clergy againſt them.

No doubt (quoth I) but that ſuch unquiet Spirits ſhould be puniſh'd in our Realm,

Realm, and ſo I ſaid of late to their moſt worthy and reverend Prelate and Primate the Arch-Biſhop of St *Andrews* (with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in *London*, wither he was come by his King,s appointment, as he ſaid, to treat certain Affairs with our Queen and Council;) and talking of this diſorder of his Miniſtry, he confeſs'd the ſame with much grief of Mind, and told me, that he had preach'd before the King himſelf deteſting and curſing the Heads thereof, for which cauſe he was become very odious unto them, and other of their Faction, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But he ſaid, that he had given the reaſon of his doings unto our Queen, ſo meaneth he ſhortly to do to Monſieur *Beza*, and the wholeCnurch of *Geneva*, by ſending thither the Articles of his and their doings, proteſting unto me, that the proceedings and attempts of theſe factious and corrupt Men were moſt ſcandalous, ſeditious, and perillous, both to the King's Perſon, and to the Realm; being ſufficient indeed to alienate the young Prince from all affection to our Religion, when he ſhall ſee the chief Profeſſors thereof to behave themſelves ſo undutifully towards him.

That is the thing which thoſe Men his Competitors moſt deſire, (quoth the Gentleman) hoping thereby to procure him moſt evil Will and Danger both at home and from *England*. For which cauſe alſo they

they have practis'd ſo many Plots and Treacheries with his own Subjects againſt him, hoping by that means to bring the one in diſtruſt and hatred with the other, and conſequently the King in danger of deſtraction by his own Subjects. And in this machination they have behav'd themſelves ſo dextrouſly, ſo covertly us'd the meaning and contriving thereof, and ſo cunningly convey'd the execution of ſo many things, as it might indeed ſeem apparent to the young King, that the Plot of Treaſons againſt his Realm and Perſon doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into Jealouſy of our State, and our State of him, and all this for their own profit; neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, to draw Men for his own gain into danger and hatred with the State under other pretences. For I would tell you divers ſtories and ſtratagems of this running in this kind, and the one ſcarce different from the other in device, but yet all to one end. I have a Friend yet living that was toward the old Earl of *Arundel*, in good credit, and by that means had occaſion to deal with the late Duke of *Norfolk* in his chiefeſt Affairs, before his Troubles. This Man is wont to report ſtrange things from the Duke's one mouth of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s moſt treacherous dealing towards him for the gaining of his Blood as after appear'd, albeit the Duke when he reported the ſame, miſtruſted not my

Lord's malice therein. But the ſumm of all is this in effect, That *Leiceſter* having a ſecret deſign to pull down the ſaid Duke, to the end, that he might have no Man above himſelf to hinder him in that which he moſt deſir'd, by a cunning device drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that Marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*, which afterward was the cauſe or occaſion of his ruin, and he behav'd himſelf ſo cunningly and dextrouſly in this drift, by ſetting on the Duke on the one ſide, and intrapping him on the other, as few as himſelf never play'd his part more cunningly; when he ſupp'd with his Maſter, and ſet himſelf ſo near as he dipp'd his Spoon in the ſame Diſh, and durſt before others ask who ſhould betray him, meaning that night to do it himſelf, as he ſhew'd ſoon after Supper, when he came as a Captain with a Band of Conſpirators, and with a courteous kiſs deliver'd his Perſon into the hands of them whom he well knew to thirſt after his Blood. The very like did the L. of *Leiceſter* with the Duke of *Norfolk* for the Art of Treaſon, tho in the Parties betray'd there were great difference of Innocency; namely, when her Majeſty was at *Baſeing* in *Hampſhire*, and the Duke attending there to have audience, with great indifferency in himſelf, to follow or leave off his ſuit for Marriage (for that he began now to ſuſpect that her Majeſty liked not greatly thereof) my Lord of *Leiceſter* came to him, and councelled him

him in any caſe to perſevere and not relent, aſſuring with many Oaths and Proteſtations, that her Majeſty muſt and ſhould be brought to allow thereof, whether ſhe would or no, and that himſelf would ſeal that purpoſe with his Blood: Neither was it to be ſuffered that her Majeſty ſhould have her will therein; with many other Speeches to this purpoſe, which the Duke repeated again then preſently to my ſaid Friend, with often laying his Hands upon his Boſome, and ſaying, I have here which aſſureth me ſufficiently of my Love of *Lieceſter*'s fidelity, meaning not only the foreſaid Speeches, but alſo divers Letters which he had written to the Duke touching that effect, as likewiſe he had done to ſome other perſons of more importance in the Realm; which matter coming afterwards to light, he couzen'd moſt notably her Majeſty, by ſhewing her a reform'd copy of the ſaid Letter, for the Letter itſelf. But now how well he performed his promiſe in dealing with her Majeſty for the Duke, or againſt the Duke, in this matter, her Highneſs can beſt tell, and the event it ſelf beſt ſhewed. For the Duke being admitted ſoon after to her Majeſty's Speech at another place, and having received a fair other anſwer, than he had in hope conceited upon *Leiceſter*'s promiſes, retired himſelf that night to *London*, where the ſame night he received Letters both from *Leiceſter* and Sir *Nicho-*

las Throgmorton upon *Leiceſter*'s inſtigation, (for they were at that time both Friends and of a Faction) that he ſhould preſently fly into *Norfolk*, as he did, which was the laſt and final compliment of all *Leiceſter*'s former devices, whereby to plunge his Friend over the Ears in ſuſpicion and diſgrace, in ſuch ſort as he ſhould never be able to draw himſelf out of the Ditch again, as indeed he was not, but died in the ſame. And herein alſo you ſee the ſubtilty of that *Machiavelian* ſlight, which I mentioned before, of driving Men to attempt ſomewhat, whereby they may incur danger, or remain in perpetual ſuſpicion and diſgrace. And this practice he hath long uſed, and doth daily againſt ſuch as he hath will to deſtroy. As for Example, what ſay you to the device he had of late to entrap his well deſerving Friend, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* the Prieſt, whom he would have ſent away and hid, being touched and detected in the caſe of *Ardent*, thereby to have drawn in Sir *Chriſtopher* himſelf, (as Sir *Charles Candiſh* can well declare, if it pleaſe him) being acceſſory to this Plot, for the overthrow of Sir *Chriſtopher*: To which intent the moſt Deviliſh drift pertaineth (I doubt not) if the matter were duly examin'd, of the late interception of Letters at *Paris*, from one *Aldred* of *Lyous*, than in *Rome*, to *Henry Umpton*, Servant to Sir *Chriſtopher*, which Letters, Sir *Chriſtoper*,

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is reported to be of ſuch Credit, and eſpecial favour at *Rome*, as if he were the greateſt Papiſt in *England*. What meaneth alſo theſe late pernicious dealings againſt the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a Man of the moſt antient and worthieſt Nobility of our Realm? What mean the practiſes which his neareſt both in Bed and Blood againſt him? What mean the moſt falſe and ſcandalous rumours caſt abroad of late, of his diſloyal demeanour towards her Majeſty, and his Country with the great Priſoner committed to his charge? Is all this to any other end, but only to drive him to ſome impatience, and thereby to commit or ſay ſomething, which may open the Gate to his ruin? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other Noblemen of the Realm, who live abroad in their Countries, much injured and malecontented by his inſolency, albeit in reſpect of his preſent Power, they dare not complain. And ſurely it is ſtrange to ſee, how little account he maketh of all the antient Nobility of our Realm, how he contemneth, derideth and debaſeth them, which is the faſhion of all ſuch as mean to Uſurp, to the end, that they may have none who ſhall not acknowledge their firſt begining and advancement from themſelves.

Not only Uſurpers (quoth the Lawyer) but alſo others who riſe and mount aloft from baſe Lineage, be ordinarily moſt contemptuous, contumelious and inſolent, againſt others of more Antiquity. And this was evident in this Man's Father, who being a Buck of the firſt Head, (as you know) was intolerable contemptuous of others, as appeareth by thoſe whom he trod down of the Nobility in his time, as alſo by his ordinary Jeſts againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, and others. But amongſt other times, ſitting one day at his own Table (as a Counſellour told me that was preſent) he took occaſion to talk of the Earl of *Arundel*, whom he then had not only removed from the Council, but alſo put into the Tower of *London*, being as it is well known, the firſt and chiefeſt Earl of this Realm. And for that the ſaid Earl ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat ſad, and afflicted with his preſent State (as I marvel not, ſeeing himſelf in Priſon, and within the compaſs of ſo fierce a Bears Paws) it pleaſed this goodly Duke to vaunt upon this Earl's Miſery at his own Table; and asked the Noblemen and Gentlemen there preſent, what Creſt or Cogniſance my Lord of *Arundel* did give, and when everyone anſwered, that he gave the *White Horſe*, I thought ſo (quoth the Duke) and not without great Cauſe, for as the white Palfrey when he ſtandeth in the Stable and is well provendred, is proud and fierce and

and ready to leap upon other Horſes Backs, ſtill neighing and pranſing, and troubling all that ſtand about him; but when he is once out of his hot Stable, and deprived a little of his Eaſe and fat feeding, every Boy may ride and maſter him at his Pleaſure: So is it (quoth he) with my Lord of *Arundel*, whereat many marvelled that were preſent, to hear ſo inſolent a Speech paſs from a Man of Judgment, againſt a Peer of the Realm caſt into Calamity.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had ſeen that which I did afterward, which was the moſt abject and baſe Behaviour of the ſaid Duke to the ſame Earl of *Arundel*, at *Cambridge*, and upon the way towards *London*, when this Earl was ſent to apprehend, and bring him up as Priſoner; how he fell down on his Knees, how he wept, how he beſought the ſaid Earl to be a good Lord unto him, whom a little before he had ſo much contemned and reproached: You might have ſaid that himſelf might as well be compared to this *white Palfrey* as the other: Albeit in this I will excuſe neither of them both, nor almoſt any other of theſe great Men, who are ſo proud and inſolent in their proſperous Fortunes, as they are eaſily led to contemn any Man, albeit themſelves be moſt contemptible of all others, whenſoever their Fortunes begin to change. And ſo will my Lord of *Leiceſter*

be alſo no doubt at that day, though now in his Wealth he triumphs over all, and careth not whom or how many he offend or injure.

Herein I believe you (quoth the Scholar) for we have had ſufficient Trial of my Lord's fortitude in Adverſity; his baſe and abject behaviour in his laſt Diſgrace about his Marriage, well declareth what he would do in a matter of more Importance. His favouring and flattering of them whom he hath moſt his ſervile Speeches, his feigned and diſſembled Tears, are all very well known. Then Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* muſt needs be enforced to receive at his hands the great and honourable Office of Chamberlainſhip at *Cheſter*, for that he would by any means reſign the ſame unto him, whether he would or no, and made him provide not without his Charge, to receive the ſame, though his Lordſhip never meant it, as after well appeared; for that the preſent Pang being paſt, it liked my Lord to fulfill the *Italian* Proverb, of ſuch as in Danger make Vows to Saints *Scampato ill Periclo, gabbato il Sancto*, the Danger eſcaped, the Saint is deceived. Then and in that Neceſſity, no Men of the Realm were ſo much honoured, commended and ſerved by him, as the noble Chamberlain deceaſed, and the good Lord Treaſurer living; to whom at a certain time he wrote a Letter in all Fraud and falſe Diſſimulation, and cauſed the ſame to be

be delivered with great Cunning, in the ſight of Her Majeſty, and yet ſo as it ſhewed a Purpoſe that it ſhould not be ſeen, to the end, her Highneſs might the rather take occaſion to call for the ſame and read it, as ſhe did: For Mrs. *Frances Howard*, to whom the Stratagem was committed, played her Part dexterouſly, offered to deliver the ſame to the Lord Treaſurer, near the Door of the Withdrawing Chamber, he then coming from Her Majeſty; and to draw the Eye and Attention of Her Majeſty the more unto it, ſhe let fall the Paper before it touched the Lord Treaſurer's Hands, by that occaſion brought her Highneſs to call for the ſame; which after ſhe had read, and conſidered the Stile, together with the Metal and Conſtitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was ſent, Her Majeſty could not but break forth into Laughter, with deteſtation of ſuch abſurd and abject Diſſimulation, ſaying unto my Lord Treaſurer there preſent, *My Lord, believe him not, for if he had you in the like Caſe, he would play the Bear with you, though at this preſent he fawn upon you never ſo faſt.* But, now Sir, I pray you go forward in your Speech of *Scotland*, for there I remember you left off, when by occaſion we fell into theſe Digreſſions.

Well (quoth the Gentleman) to return again to *Scotland* from whence we have digreſſed, moſt certain and evident it is to all the World, that all the Broils, Troubles

Troubles and Dangers procured to the Prince in that Country, as alſo the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that Title in our Realm, do proceed from the drift and com-plott of theſe Conſpirators; which beſides the great dangers mentioned before, both domeſtical and foreign, temporal and of Religion, muſt needs infer great Jeopardy alſo to Her Majeſty's Perſon, and preſent Reign that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the Aſpirors Ambition, inflamed and increaſed ſo much the more, by the nearneſs of their deſired Prey. For as Soldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furniſht City, are moſt fierce and furious when they have gotten and beaten down the Bulwarks round about; and as the greedy Burglarer, that hath pierced and broken down many Walls to come to a Treaſury, is leſs patient of ſtay, ſtop and delay, when he cometh in ſight of that which he deſireth, or perceiveth only ſome Partition of Wainſcoat or the like, betwixt his Fingers and the Coffers or Money-Bags: So theſe Men when they ſhall ſee the Succeſſion of *Scotland* extinguiſhed, together with all Friends and Favourers thereof, which are now to Her Majeſty as Bulwarks, Walls, and great Obſtacles to the Aſpirers, and when they ſhall ſee only Her Majeſty's Life and Perſon, to ſtand betwixt them and their fiery Deſires, (for they make little account of all other Com-

Competitors by King *Henry*'s Line) no doubt but it will be them a great prick and ſpur to diſpatch her Majeſty alſo; the nature of both Earls being conſider'd; whereof the one killed his own Wife (as hath been ſhewed before) only upon a little vain hope of Marrying a Queen; and the other being ſo far blinded, and born away with ſome furious fume, and moſt impotent itching humour of Ambition, and his own Mother when ſhe was alive ſeem'd greatly to fear his Fingers, if once the matter ſhould come ſo near, as her Life had but only ſtood in the way. For which cauſe the good Old Counteſs was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers ſay) that ſhe might dye before her Majeſty (which happily was granted her) to the end, that leaſt by ſtanding in her Sons way (whom ſhe ſaw to her grief furiouſly bent to wear a Crowns there might ſome dangerous extremity grow to her by that means, and if his own Mother feared this miſchance, what may her Majeſty at his hands, and his Companions hands, when ſhe only ſhall be the ſole obſtacle, of all their unbridled and impatient deſires.

Clear it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearneſs of Aſpirers to the Crown, endangereth greatly the preſent poſſeſſion as you have well proved by reaſon, and I could ſhew by divers Examples if need were. For when *H. Bullengbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſaw not only *Richard* the II. with-

without Iſſue, but alſo, *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, that ſhould have ſucceeded in the Crown, to be ſlain in *Ireland*, though before, as he thought, he meant, not to Uſurp, yet ſeeing the poſſibility, and near cut that he had, was invited therewith to lay hands on his Soveragns Blood and Dignity, as he did. The like is thought of *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, that he never meant the Murther of his Nephews, until he ſaw their Father dead and themſelves in his own Hands, his Brother alſo Duke of *Clarence* diſpatch'd, and his only Son and Heir the Earl of *Warwick* within his own power. Wherefore ſeeing it hath not pleaſed God Almighty, for cauſes to himſelf beſt known, to leave unto this noble Realm any Iſſue, by her moſt excellent Majeſty, it hath been a point of great Wiſdom, in my Opinion, and of great ſafety to her Highneſſes Perſon, State and Dignity, to preſerve hitherto the Line of the next Inheritors by the Houſe of *Scotland*, (I mean both the Mother and the Son) whoſe deaths have been ſo diligently ſought by the other Competitors, and had been long e're this atchiev'd, if her Majeſty's own Wiſdom and Royal Clemency, as is thought, had not been placed, principally upon the conſervation thereof, from time to time, with Princely Providence, ſo long as it ſhall endure, muſt needs be a greet ſafety and Fortreſs to her Majeſty, not only againſt the claimes, aides and an-

annoyments of Foreign Princes, who will not be ſo forward to advance Foreign Titles, whilſt ſo manifeſt Heirs remain at home, nor yet ſo willing in reſpect of Policy to help that Line to poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland, but alſo againſt practiſes of Domeſtical aſperſions, as you have ſhewed; in whoſe affairs, no doubt but theſe two Branches of *Scoland* are great Blocks, as alſo ſpecial Bulworks to her Majeſty's Life and Perſon, ſeeing, as you ſay, theſe Compartners make ſo little of all other, of that Line who ſhall enſue by order of ſucceſſion. Marry yet of the two, I do think the Youth of *Scotland* to be of much more importance to be made away, both for that he may have Iſſue, and is like in time to be of more ability for defence of his own Inheritance; as alſo for that he being once diſpatch'd, his Mother ſhould ſoon enſue by one ſlight or other, which they would deviſe unwilling to her Majeſty. Albeit I muſt needs confeſs, that her Highneſs hath uſed moſt ſingular Prudence for the prevention thereof, in placing a Teſtament with ſo noble, ſtrong, and worthy a Peer of our Realm, as the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, whoſe Fidelity and Conſtancy being nothing pliable to the other Faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cauſe the World ſeeth how many ſundry and divers devices they have uſed daily to ſlander and diſgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his committed Charge. To

To this the Gentleman anſwered nothing at all, but ſtood ſtill muſing with himſelf, as though he had conceived ſome deep matter in his Head, and after a lit-pauſe he began to ſay as followeth. I cannot truly but marvel, when I compare ſome things of this Time and Government, with the doings of former Princes Progenitors to her Majeſty, namely, of King *Henry* the VIIth, and King *Henry* the VIIIth, who had ſo vigilant an Eye to the collateral Line of King *Edward* the IVth, by his Brother of *Clarence*, as they thought it neceſſary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might enſue that way, but even the poſſibilities of all peril. As may well appear by the Execution of *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to the ſaid Duke of *Clarence*, and of *Margaret* his Siſter, Counteſs of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her Son, by whoſe Daughter the Earl of *Huntington* now claimeth. All which were Executed for avoiding of inconveniencies, and that at ſuch times when no eminent danger could be much doubted by that Line, eſpecially by the latter. And yet now when one of the ſame Houſe and Line: of more Ability and Ambition, than ever any of his Anceſtors were, maketh open Title and Claim to the Crown, with Plots, Packs and Preparations in moſt manifeſt Uſurpation, againſt all Order, all Law, all rightful Succeſſion, and againſt a ſpecial Statue provided in that

that behalf, yet is he permitted, born out, favoured, and friended therein, and no Man ſo hardy in defence of her Majeſty and Realm to control him for the ſame. It may be that her Majeſty is brought into the ſame opinion of my Lord of *Huntington*'s Fidelity, as *Julius Cæſar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his deareſt obliged Friend, of whoſe ambitious practices and aſpiring, when *Cæſar* was advertiſed by his careful Friend, anſwer'd, *That he well knew* Brutus *to be Ambitious, but I am ſure* (quoth he) *that* Brutus *will never attempt any thing for the Empire, while* Cæſar *liveth, and after my death, let him ſhift for the ſame among others as he can.* But what inſued? Surely I am loath to tell the event for annimations falſe, but yet all the world knoweth, that before many Months paſſed, this moſt noble and clement Emperor was moſt pittifully Murthered by the ſame *Brutus* and his Partners in the publick Senate, when he leaſt of all ſuſpected ſuch Treaſon. So dangerous a thing it is to be ſecure in a matter of ſo great ſequel, or to truſt them with a Mans life, who may pretend preferment or intereſt by his death. Wherefore, would God her Majeſty in this caſe might be induced to have ſuch a due care and regard of her own State and Royal Peſon, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth, which containeth the bliſs and calamity of ſo noble and worthy a Kingdom

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as this is. I know right well, that moſt excellent natures are always fartheſt off from difference in ſuch people as profeſs Love, and are moſt bound by duty, and ſo it is evident in her Majeſty. But yet ſurely this confidence, ſo commendable in other Men, is ſcarce allowable oft times in Princes, for that it goeth accompanied with ſo great peril, as is inevitable to him that will not ſuſpect, principally when dangers are foretold or preſaged, as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the ſpecial hand he holdeth over Princes affairs, or when there is probable conjecture, or juſt ſurmiſe of the ſame. We know that the forenam'd Emperor *Cæſar*, had not only the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to Uſurpation, but even the very day when he was going towards the very place of his appointed deſtiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole Treaſon, with requeſt to read the ſame preſently, which he upon confidence omitted to do. We read alſo of *Alexander* the Great, how he was not only forbidden by a Learned Man to enter into *Babilon* whither he was then going, for that there was Treaſon meant againſt him in the ſame place, but alſo that he was foretold of *Antipater*'s miſchievous meaning againſt him in particular. But the young Prince having ſo well deſerv'd force of *Antipater*, could not be brought to diſtruſt the Man that was ſo near

near unto him, and by that means was poyſon'd at a Banquet by three Sons of *Antipater* that were moſt of credit and confidence in the King's Chamber.

Here truly my Heart did ſomewhat tremble with fear, horror and deteſtation of ſuch events, and I ſaid unto the Gentleman, I beſeech you, Sir, to talk no more of thoſe matters, for I cannot well abide to hear them nam'd, hoping in my Lord, there is no cauſe nor ever ſhall to doubt the like in *England*, eſpecially from theſeMen who are ſo much bounden to Her Majeſty, and ſo forward in ſeeking and purſuing of all ſuch as may be thought to be dangerous to Her Majeſty's Perſon, as by ſundry late executions we have ſeen, and by the puniſhment every way of Papiſts we may perceive.

True it is (quoth the Gentleman) that Juſtice hath been executed upon divers of late, which contenteth me greatly, for the terror or reſtraint of others, of what Sect or Religion ſoever they be, and it is moſt neceſſary doubtleſs for the repreſſing of Parties, that great vigilancy be uſed in that behalf. But when I conſider that only one kind of Men are touch'd herein, and that all ſpeech, regard, doubt, diſtruſt and watch is of them alone, without reflection of the Eye to any other Mens doings and deſignments: When I ſee the double diligence, and vehemency of certain Inſtruments which I like not, bent wholly to raiſe wonder and admiration to the People, fear, terror and at-

tention to the doings, ſayings or meanings of one part, or Faction alone, and of that, namely, and only with theſe Conſpirators eſteem'd for moſt dangerous and oppoſite to themſelves. I am, believe me, often tempted to ſuſpect Frauds and falſe meaſures, and that theſe Men deal as Wolves in other Countries are wont to do by nature, which going together in great numbers to aſſail a Flock of Sheep by night, do ſet ſome one or two of their Company upon the Wind-ſide of the Fold afar off, who partly by their ſcent and other bruſtlings, which of purpoſe they make, do draw the Dogs and and Shepherd to purſue them alone, whilſt the other do enter and ſlay the whole Flock; or as Rebels that meaning to ſurprize a Town, to turn away the Inhabitants from conſideration of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter, do ſet on fire ſome other part of the Town further off, and do ſound a falſe Alarm at ſome Gate where is meant leaſt danger; which Art was us'd cunningly by *Richard* Duke of *York* in the time of K. *Henry* the VI. when he, to cover his own intent, brought all the Realm in doubt of the doings of *Edmond*, Duke of *Somerſet*'s Enemy; but *John* of *Northumberland*, Father to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, us'd the ſame Art much more skilfully, when he put all *England* in maze, and muſing of the Protector and his Friends, as tho' nothing could be ſafe about

about the young King until they were ſurpriz'd, and conſequently all brought into his own Authority without obſtacle. I ſpeak not this to excuſe Papiſts, or to wiſh them any ways ſpar'd, wherein they do offend, but only to ſignify that in a Country where ſo potent a Faction be, it is not ſafe to ſuffer the one to make it ſelf ſo puiſſant by purſuit of the other, as afterward the Prince muſt remain at the devotion of the Stranger, but rather as in a Body moleſted, and troubl'd with contrary humours, if all cannot be purged, the beſt Phyſick is, without all doubt, to reduce and hold them at ſuch an equality, as deſtruction may not be fear'd of the predominant.

To this the Lawyer laughing reply'd, yea, marry Sir, I would to God your opinion might prevail in this matter, for then ſhould we be in other terms than now we are. I was not long ſithence in company of a certain, honourable Lady of the Court, who after ſome ſpeech paſs'd by Gentlemen that were preſent, of ſome apprehended, ſome executed, and ſuch like Affairs, broke into a great complaint of the preſent times, and therewith I aſſure you, mov'd all the Hearers to grief, (as we Men you know are potent in ſtirring of affections) and caus'd them all to wiſh that her Majeſty had been nigh to have heard her words. I do well remember (quoth ſhe) the firſt dozen years of her Higneſs's Reign, how happy, how

pleaſant and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and conſolation. There was no mention then of Factions in Religion, neither was any Man much noted or recited for that cauſe, if otherwiſe his converſation were civil and courteous: No ſuſpicion of Treaſons, no talk of Bloodſhed, no complaint of Troubles, Miſeries or Vexations, all was Peace, all was Love, all was Joy, all was Delight; her Majeſty, I am ſure, took more recreation at that time in one day, than ſhe doth now in a whole week, and we that ſerved her Highneſs, enjoy'd more contentation in a week, than we can now in divers years. For now there are ſo many ſuſpicions every where for this thing, and that as we cannot tell whom to truſt, ſo many melancholy in the Court, that ſeem malecontented, ſo many complaining and ſuing for their Friends that are in trouble, other ſlip over the Sea and retire themſelves upon the ſuddain, ſo many tales brought up of this or that danger, of this Man ſuſpected, of that Man ſent for up; and ſuch like unpleaſant and unſavory ſtuff, as can never almoſt be merry one whole day together. Wherefore, (quoth this Lady) we, that are of her Majeſty's Train and eſpecial Service, do not only ☞ feel theſe things in our ſelves, but much more in the grief of her Majeſty, whom we ſee daily moleſted herewith, being one of beſt Natures I am ſure, that ever noble Princeſs was endued withal; we cannot but

but moan to behold Contentions ſo far forth advanced as they are, and we could wiſh moſt heartily, that for the time to come, theſe matters might paſs with ſuch Peace, Friendſhip and Tranquility, as they do in other Countries, where difference in Religion breaketh not the Band of good Fellowſhip, or Fidelity, and this in a ſmiling manner ſhe ſpake of, asking Pardon of the Company, if ſhe had ſpoken over boldly her Opinion like a Woman, To whom anſwered a Courtier that ſate next her, Madam, Your Ladyſhip hath ſaid nothing in this Behalf, that is not daily debated amongſt us in our common Speech in Court, as you know; Your Deſire alſo herein is a publick deſire if it might be brought to paſs; for there is no Man ſo ſimple that ſeeth not how perillous theſe Contentions and Diviſions amongſt us may be in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen that are learned, diſcourſe at large upon the Argument, alledging old Examples of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Carthagenians*, and *Romans*; who received notable Dangers, and Deſtruction alſo in the end by their Diviſions and Factions among themſelves, and ſpecially from their own Cities and Countries, who upon Factions lived abroad with Foreigners, to carry home the Flame of War upon their own Countries. The like they alſo ſhewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of *Italy*, which by

their Factions and Diviſions, were in continual Garboyl, Bloodſhed and Miſery: Whereof our own Country hath taſted alſo her part, by the odious Contention between the Houſe of *Lancaſter* and *York*; wherein it is marvllous to conſider, what Troubles, a few Men oftentimes departing out of the Realm, were able to work by the part of their Faction, remaining at home (which commonly increaſeth towards them that are abſent) and by the readineſs of foreign Princes to receive alſo, and comfort ſuch as are diſcontented in another State, to the end, that by their means, they may hold an Oar in their Neighbour's Boat, with Princes that be nigh Borderers, do always, above all other things moſt covet and deſire. This was the Courtiers Speech and Reaſon, whereby I perceived, that as well amongſt the Court, as amongſt us abroad in the Realm, and Countrey, the preſent Inconvenience, and dangerous Sequel of this our Home-diſſention is eſpied, and conſequently moſt *Engliſh* Hearts, inclined to wiſh the Remedy and Prevention thereof, by ſome reaſonable Moderation and Re-union amongſt our ſelves. For that the Proſecution of thoſe Differences too extreamly, cannot but after many Wounds and Exulcerations, bring matters finally to Rage, Fury and moſt deadly Deſperation. Whereas on the other ſide, if any ſweet Qualification, or ſmall Toleration amongſt us were admitted,

mitted, there is no doubt but that Affairs would pass in our Realm, with more Quietness, Safety and publick Weal, of the same, than it is like it will do long; and Men would easily be brought, that have *English* Bowels, to joyn in the Preservation of their Countrey, from Ruine, Bloudshed, and foreign Oppression, which Divisions and Factions are wont to procure.

I am sure of your Opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seen the Experience thereof, and all the World beholdeth the same at this Day: In all the Countries of *Germany*, *Polonia* and *Hungary*, where a little fearing of the one with the other hath wrought them much ease, and continued them in Peace, whereof all *Europe* besides hath Admiration and Envy. The first douzen Years also of Her Majesty's Reign whereof the Lady of the Court discoursed before, can well be a Witness of the same, where in the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certain sweet diligence for their gaining by good means, was the cause of much Peace, Contentation and other Benefit to the whole Body. We see in *France* that by over much pressing of one part only, a Fire was kindled not many years ago, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole, had not a necessary mollification been used, and thought upon by the wisest of the King's Council, full contrary

or Modification.

to the Will and Inclination of ſome great Perſonages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other: And ſince that time we ſee, what Peace, Wealth, and Re-union hath enſued in that Countrey, that was ſo broken, diſſevered and waſted before: And all this by yielding a little in that thing, which no Force can maſter, but uxulcerate rather, and make worſe, I mean the Conſcience, and Judgment of Men in matters of Religion. The like alſo I could name you in *Flanders*, where (after all theſe Broils of ſo many Years, cauſed principally by too much ſtriving in ſuch Affairs at the beginning) albeit the King be never ſo ſtraight-laced in yielding to publick Liberty, and free Exerciſe on both parts, yet is he deſcended to this at length, and that upon force of Reaſon, to abſtain from the purſuit and ſearch of other Men's Conſciences, not only in the Towns which upon Compoſition he receiveth, but alſo where he hath recovered by Force, as he hath in *Tournay*, and other Places; where I am informed, that no Man is ſearched, demanded, or moleſted for his Opinion or Conſcience; nor any Act of Papiſtry, or contrary Religion, required at their hands, but are permitted to live quietly to God and themſelves in their own Houſes, ſo that they perform, otherwiſe that outward Obedience, and Duties toward their Prince and Countrey which they ſhould do. Which only Qualification,

cation, Toleration, and Moderation in our Realm (if I be not deceived with many more of my mind) would content all Diviſions, Factions, and Parties amongſt us, for their continuance in Peace; be they Papiſts, Puritans, Familiars, or whatſoever nice difference or Section beſides, and would be ſufficient to retain all Parties within a temporal Obedience to the Magiſtrate and Government, for conſervation of their Country, which were of no ſmall importance to the contentation of Her Majeſty, and Weal publick of the whole Kingdom. But what ſhould I talk of this thing, which is ſo contrary to the Deſires and Deſignments of our puiſſant Conſpirators? What ſhould *Cicero* the Senator, uſe Perſwaſions to Captain *Cataline*, and his Crew, that Quietneſs and Order were better than Hurleyburlies? Is it poſſible that our Aſpirers will ever permit any ſuch Thing, Cauſe or Matter to be treated in our State, as may tend to the Stability of Her Majeſty's preſent Government. No ſurely, it ſtandeth nothing with their Wiſdom and Policy, eſpecially at this inſtant, when they have ſuch opportunity of following their own Actions in Her Majeſty's Name, under the Vizard and Pretext of her Defence, and Safety, having ſcrewed in every Man's Head both abroad and at home, from *Scotland*, *Flanders*, *Spain* and *Ireland*, ſo many intended Murthers, and others ſo many contrived

or Familiſts.

and

and conceived Miſchiefs, as my Lord of *Leiceſter* aſſureth himſelf that the troubled Water cannot be clear again in a ſhort ſpace, nor his Baits nor his Lines laid therein eaſily eſpied; but rather that hereby, e'relong he will catch the Fiſh he gapeth ſo greedily after, and in the mean time, for the purſuing of theſe Crimes, and other that he will daily find out, himſelf muſt remain perpetual Dictator. But what meaneth this ſo much inculcating of Troubles, Treaſons, Murthers, and Invaſions? I like not ſurely thoſe ominous Speeches, and as I am out of doubt, that *Leiceſter*, the Caſter of theſe Shadows, doth look to play his part firſt in theſe troubleſome Affairs: So do I heartily fear that unleſs the Tyranny of this *Leiceſtrian* Fury be ſpeedily ſtopped, that ſuch Miſery to Prince and People (which the Lord for his Mercies ſake turn from us) as never greater fell before to our miſerable Country, is far nearer hand than is expected or ſuſpected. And for prevention of theſe Calamities, I plainly tell you my Opinion (good Friends) and therefore to draw to an end of this our Conference, (for it waxeth late) I would think it the moſt neceſſary Point of all, for Her Majeſty to call his Lordſhip to account amongſt others, and to ſee what other Men could ſay againſt him at length, after ſo many years of his ſole accuſing and purſuing others. I know and am very well aſſured,

that

that no one Act which Her Majeſty hath done ſince her coming to the Crown (as She hath done many moſt highly to be commended) nor any that likely Her Majeſty may do hereafter, can be of more utility to her ſelf, or to her Realm, or more grateful to her faithful and zealous Subjects, than this noble Act of Juſtice would be, for Trial of this Man's Deſerts towards his Country. I ſay it would be profitable to Her Majeſty and the Realm, not only in reſpect of the many Dangers before mentioned which are like to enſue moſt certainly if his Courſes be permitted ſtill; but alſo for that Her Majeſty ſhall by this deliver her ſelf from that general Grudge, and Grief of Mind, with great diſlike, which many Subjects otherwiſe moſt faithful have conceived againſt the exceſſive Favour ſhewed to this Man ſo many Years without Deſert or Reaſon. Which Favour he having ſhewed, and uſed to the hurt, annoyance, and oppreſſion of infinite ſeveral Perſons, and the whole Commonwealth, as hath been ſaid, the Grief thereof doth redound commonly in ſuch caſes, not only upon the Perſon delinquent alone, but alſo upon the Sovereign, by whoſe Favour and Authority he offereth ſuch Injuries, though never ſo much againſt the others Intent, Will, Deſiring, and Meaning. And hereof we have Examples of ſundry Princes in all Ages, and Countries, whoſe exorbitant Favour

to

to ſome wicked Subject that abuſed the ſame, hath been the cauſe of great danger and ruine, the ſins of the Favourites being returned and reveng'd upon the Favourer. As in the Hiſtory of the *Grecians* is declared by the occaſion of this pittiful Murther of that wiſe and victorious Prince, *Philip* of *Macedon*, who albeit he were well aſſur'd to have given no offence of himſelf to any of his Subjects, and conſequently fearing nothing, but converſed openly and confidently amongſt them, yet for that he had favour'd too much one Duke *Attalus*, a proud and inſolent Courtier, and had born him out in certain of his wickedneſs, or at leaſt not puniſh'd them after they were detected and complain'd upon, the Parties griev'd, accounting the Crime more proper, and heinous on the part of him, who by office ſhoul do Juſtice, and protect others, than of the Perpetrator, who follow'd his own paſſion ahd ſenſuality; let paſs *Attalus*, and made their revenge upon the Blood and Life of the King himſelf, by one *Pauſonias* ſuborn'd for that purpoſe on the Marriage day of the King's own Daughter. Great ſtore of like examples might be repeated out of the Stories of other Countries, nothing being more uſual or frequent amongſt all Nations than the afflictions of Realms and Kingdoms, and the overthrow of great Princes and Potentates themſelves by their too much affection towards ſome unworthy particu-

lar

lar perſons. A thing indeed ſo common and ordinary, as it may well ſeem to be the ſpecialleſt rock of all other whereat Kings and Princes do make their Shipwreck. For if we look into the States and Monarthies of all *Chriſtendom*, and conſider the ruines that have been of any Prince or Ruler in the ſame, we ſhall find this point to have been a great and principal cauſe thereof. And in our own State and Country, the matter is too to evident; for whereas ſince the Conqueſt we number principally their juſt and lawful Kings which have come to confuſion by alienation of their Subjects (that is *Edward* the II. *Richard* the II. and *Henry* the VI.) this only point of too much favour towards wicked perſons, was the cauſe of deſtraction in all three. As in the firſt, the expreſſive favour towards * *Peter Gaveſton*, and two of the Spencers; and in the ſecond, the extraordinary and indiſnary, and in diſcreet affection towards *Robert Dere*, Earl of *Oxford*, and Marqueſs of *Dublin*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two moſt turbulent and wicked Men that ſet themſelves againſt his own Uncles and the Nobility; the third being a ſimple and holy Man, albeit no great exorbitant affection was ſeen towards any, yet his Wife, Queen *Margaret*'s, too much favour and cridit to the Marquis of *Suffolk* that after was made Duke, by whoſe inſtinct and wicked Counſel ſhe made away firſt the noble Duke of *Glouceſter*, and

* *commonly* Peires.

and afterwards committed many other things in great prejudice to the Realm, and ſuffer'd the ſame moſt impious and wicked Duke to range and make havock of all ſorts of Subjects at his pleaſure, much after the faſhion of the Earl of *Leiceſter* now tho' not ſet in ſo high and extream a degree. This I ſay was the principal and original cauſe both before God and Man, (as *Polidore* well noteth of all the calamity and extream deſolation which after enſued both to the King, Queen and their only Child, with the utter extirpation of their Family,) and ſo likewiſe now to ſpeak in our particular caſe, if there be any grudge or grief at this day any diſlike, any repining, complaint or murmur againſt her Majeſty's Government, in the hearts of her true and faithful Subjects, who wiſh amendment of that which is amiſs, and not the overthrow of that which is well, (as I know it were no wiſdom to imagin there were none at all) I dare avouch upon Conſcience, that either all or the greateſt part proceedeth from this Man, who by the favour of her Majeſty ſo afflicteth her People as never did before, either *Gaveſton*, *Spencer*, *Dere*, *Mowbray*, or any other miſchievous Tyrant, that abuſeth moſt his Prince's favour within the Realm of *England*, whereby it is evident how profitable a thing it would be to the whole Realm in Common, how honourable to her Majeſty, and how grateful to all her

Subjects

Subjects, if this Man at length might be call'd to his account.

Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) you alledge great Treaſon, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Majeſty did know but the tenth part of this which you have here ſpoken, as alſo her good Subjects deſires and complaint in this behalf, ſhe would well ſhew that her Highneſs fear'd not to permit Juſtice to paſs upon *Leiceſter*, or any other within her Realm, for ſatisfaction of her People, howſoever otherwiſe of her own mild diſpoſition, or good affection towards the perſon, ſhe have born with him hitherto; for ſo we ſee that wiſe Princes can do at times convenient, for Peace, Tranquility and publick Weale, tho contrary to their own particular and peculiar Inclination. And to go no farther than to the laſt example named and alledged by your ſelf before, tho Queen *Margaret*, the Wife of King *Henry* the VI. had favour'd moſt unfortunately many years together *William de la Poole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, whereby he committed many foul outrages, and afflicted the Realm by ſundry means; yet ſhe being a Woman of great prudence, when ſhe ſaw the whole Commonalty demand Juſtice upon him for his demerits, albeit ſhe liked and loved the Man ſtill, yet for ſatisfaction of the People upon ſo general a complaint, ſhe was contented firſt to commit him to Priſon, and afterwards to baniſh him the Realm. But the Providence

dence of God would not let him ſo eſcape, for he being encountred and taken upon the Sea in his paſſage, he was beheaded in the Ship, and ſo receiv'd ſome part of condigne puniſhment, for his wicked, looſe, licentious Life. And to ſeek no more examples in this caſe, we know into what favour and ſpecial grace Sir *E. Dudley*, my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s good Grandfather, was crept with King *Henry* the VII. in the latter end of his Reign, and what intolerable wickedneſs and miſchief he wrought againſt the whole Realm, and againſt infinite in particular perſons of the ſame, by the prowlings oppreſſions which he practiſed, whereby, tho the King receiv'd great Temporal Commodity at that time, (as her Majeſty doth nothing at all by the preſent extortions of his Nephew) yet for Juſtice ſake and meer Compaſſion towards his afflicted Subjects, that complain'd grievouſly of his Iniquity, that moſt virtuous and wiſe Pr. King *Henry*, was content to put from him this lewd Inſtrument, and diveliſh Suggeſtor of new exactions, whom his Son *Henry* that ſucceeded in the Crown, cauſed preſently, before all other buſineſſes, to be called publickly to account, and for his deſerts to loſe his Head; ſo as the intereſt of a whole Realm or Common Cauſe, of many taketh place: The private favour of any cannot ſtay a wiſe and godly Prince, ſuch as all the World knoweth her Majeſty to be, from permitting Juſtice to have her free paſſage.

Truly

Truly it ſhould (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes firſt elected, and upon that conſideration do Subjects pay them both Tribute and Obedience, to be defended by them from Injuries and Oppreſſions, and to ſee Laws executed, and Juſtice exerciſed, upon and towards all Men with indifferency. And as for our particular caſe of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, I do not ſee in Right and Equity, how her Majeſty may deny this lawful Deſire and Petition of her People. For if her Highneſs do permit and command the Laws duly to paſs upon Theives and Murtherers without exception, and that for one fact only, as by experince we ſee, how then can it be deny'd in this Man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormious acts than may well be recounted. As in the firſt of Theft, not only by ſpoiling and oppreſſing of infinite private Men, but alſo whole Towns and Villages, Corporations and Countries, by Robbing the Realm by inordinate Licences, by deceiving the Crown, by raking, changing and imbezling the Lands, in abuſing the Prince and Soveraign, in ſelling her favour both at home and abroad, with taking Bribes for matter of Juſtice, Grace, Requeſt, Supplication, or whatver ſuit elſe that dependeth upon the Court, or of the Princes Favour or Authority, with putting to ſale and making open Market of whatſover her Majeſty can give, do or procure, be it Spiritual or Temporal: In

which ſort of Trafick, he commiteth more Theft in one day, than all the Way-keepers, Cut-purſes, Cozeners, Pyrats, Burglaries, or other of that Art in a whole year within the Realm. And as for the ſecond, which is Murther, you have heard ſomewhat ſaid before and proved, but yet nothing to that which is thought to have been in ſecret commited upon divers occaſions, at divers times, in ſundry Perſons of different Calling in both Sexes, by moſt variable means of Killing, Poyſoning, Charming, Enchanting, Coniving, and the like, according to the diverſity of Men, Places, Opportunities and Inſtruments for the ſame. By all which means, I think he hath more Blood lying upon his Head at this day crying for vengeance againſt him at Gods hands and her Majeſty's, than ever had private Man in our Country before, were he never ſo wicked. Whereunto now if we add his other good behaviour, as his intolerable Licentiouſneſs, in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all ſorts of Wives, Friends and Kinſwomen; if we add his injuries and diſhonours done hereby to infinite; if we add his Treaſons, Treacheries and Conſpiracies about the Crown, his diſloyal behaviour and hatred againſt her Majeſty, his ordinary lying, and common perjuring himſelf in all matters for his gain, both great and ſmall, his Rapes and moſt violent Extortions upon the Poor, his abuſing of the Parliament

ment, and other places of Juſtice, with the Nobility and whole Commonalty beſides. If we add alſo his open injuries which he offereth daily to Religion, and the Miniſters thereof, by Tything them and turning all to his own gain, together with his manifeſt and known Tyranny practiſed towards all Eſtates abroad throughout all Shires of the Kingdom: His diſpoiling of both Univerſities, and diſcouraging of infinite notable Wits there, for ſeeking perfection of Knowledge and Learning, which otherwiſe were like to become notable, eſpecially in God's word, which giveth life unto the Soul; by defrauding them of the price and reward propos'd for their Travel in that kind, through his unſatiable ſymonatical contracts: If I ſay we ſhould lay together all theſe enormities before her Majeſty, and thouſands more in particular, which might, and would be gathered, if this day of Tryal were but in hope to be granted, I do not ſee in Equity and Reaſon, how her Highneſs ſitting in Throne, and at the Royal Stern, as ſhe doth; could deny her Subjects this moſt lawful requeſt, conſidering that every one of theſe crimes a part requireth Juſtice of his own nature, and much more altogether, ought to obtain the ſame at the hands of any good and godly Magiſtrate in the World. No doubt (quoth I) but that theſe conſiderations, muſt needs weigh much with any zealous Prince, and

much more with her excellent Majesty, whose tender Heart towards her Realm and Subjects, is very well known to all Men. It is not to be thought also but that her Highness hath her intelligence of divers of these matters alledged, tho not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty do? Perhaps the consultation of this affair, is not what were convenient, but is expedient, not what ought to be done in Justice, but what may be done in Safety. You have describ'd my Lord before to be a great Man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events, what if it be not convenient to bark at the Bear that is so well——— I speak unto you but that which I hear in *Cambrige* and other places, where I have passed, where every Mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choice to do what her self best listeth in that case at this day.

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Leicester*'s Friends give out every where, that her Majesty now is their good Lords Prisoner, and that she will, and must be directed by him for the time to come, except she will do worse; which thing his Lordship is very well contented should be spread abroad and believed, for two causes; the one to hold the people thereby more in awe of himself than of their Soveraign; and secondly, to draw her Majesty indeed by degrees to fear him. For considering with himself what he hath

hath done, and that it is impoſſible in truth that ever her Majeſty ſhould love him again, or truſt him after ſo many Treacheries, as he well knoweth are come to her Majeſty's underſtanding, but by terror and opinion of his puiſſant greatneſs, whereby he would hold her Highneſs and the Realm in Thraldom, as his Father did in his time before him, and then for that he well remembreth the true ſaying of *Cicero* in his Offices: *Malus cuſtos diuturnitatis metus*, he muſt provide ſhortly that thoſe that fear him, be not able to hurt him, and conſequently you know what muſt follow, by the example of King *Edward*, who feared Duke *Dudley* extreamly, for that he had cut off his two Unkles Heads, and the Duke took order that he ſhould never live to revenge the ſame. For it is a ſettled rule of *Machiavel* obſerved by the *Dudley*'s, that where you have done once great injury, there muſt you never forgive. But I will tell you my Friends, and I will tell you no untruth, for that I know what I ſpeak herein, and am privy to the Eſtate of my Lord in this behalf, and of Mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realm; moſt certain it is that he is ſtrong by the preſent favour of the Prince, in reſpect whereof he is admitted alſo for chief Patron of the *Huntingdon* Faction, tho' neither lov'd, nor greatly truſted for the ſame, but let her Majeſty once turn her Countenance aſide from him in

good

good earneſt, and ſpeak but the word only that Juſtice ſhall take place againſt him, and I will undertake, with gaging both my Life, and little Land that God hath given me, that without Stir or Trouble, or any Danger in the World, the Bear ſhall be taken at Her Majeſty's Hand, and faſt chained to a Stake, with Muzzel, Cord, Collar, Ring, and all things neceſſary, ſo that Her Majeſty ſhall bait him at her Pleaſure, without all danger of biting, breaking looſe, or any other Inconvenience whatſoever. For you muſt not think that this Man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realm, but by violence, and that only upon Her Majeſty's Favour, and Countenance towards him: He hath not any thing of his own, either from his Anceſtors or of himſelf to ſtay upon: In Men's Hearts and Conceits, he hath not ancient Nobility as others of our Realm have, whereby Men's Affections are greatly moved; his Father *John Dudley* was the firſt Noble of his Line, who raiſed and made himſelf big by ſupplanting of others, and by ſetting Debate amongſt the Nobility: As alſo his Grandfather *Edmund* a moſt wicked Promoter, and wretched Pettifogger, enriched himſelf by other Men's Ruines, both of them condemned Traytors, tho' different in Quality, the one being a Cozener, and the other a Tyrant, and both of their vices conjoined, concloſed and compriſed, with many more Additions in this Man (or Beaſt rather) which is *Robert* the Third of their Kindred and Kind; ſo that from his Anceſtors this Lord receiveth neither Honour nor Honeſty, but only Succeſſion of Treaſon and Infamy. And yet in himſelf hath he much leſs of good wherewith to procure to himſelf Love or Credit amongſt Men, than theſe Anceſtors of his had, he being a Man wholly abandoned of humane Vertue, and devoted to Wickedneſs, which maketh

maketh Men odious both to God and Man. In his Father no doubt there were to be ſeen many excellent good Parts, if they had been joined with Faith, Honeſty, Moderation and Loyalty; for all the World knoweth that he was very wiſe, valiant, magnanimous, liberal, and aſſured friendly where he once promiſed; of all which vertues, my Lord his Son hath neither ſhew not ſhadow, but only a certain falſe Repreſentation of the former; being crafty and ſubtil to deceive, and ingenious to Wickedneſs; and as for Valour, he hath as much as a Mouſe, his Magnanimity, is baſe Sordity, his Liberality Rapine, his Friendſhip plain Fraud, holding only for his Gain and not otherwiſe, though it were bound with a thouſand Oaths, of which he maketh as great account, as Hens do of cackling, but only for his Commodity; uſing them eſpecially in greateſt number, when he meaneth to deceive; namely, if he ſwear ſolemnly by his *George*, or by the *Eternal God*, then be ſure it is a falſe Lie, for theſe are Obſervations in the Court, and ſometimes in his Lodging: In like caſe his manner is to take up and ſwear by the *Bible*, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that ſeemed to follow him (as many do that like him but a little) proteſted to me of his knowledge, that in a very ſhort ſpace he obſerved him wittingly and willingly to be forſworn Sixteen times. This Man therefore ſo contemptible by his Anceſtors, ſo odible of himſelf, ſo plunged, overwhelmed, and defamed in all vice, ſo envied in the Court, ſo deteſted in the Country, and not truſted of his own deareſt Friends, nay, (which I am privy to) ſo miſliked and hated of his own Servants about him, for his beaſtly Life, Niggardize and Atheiſm, (being never yet ſeen to ſay one private Prayer within his Chamber in his Life) as they deſign nothing ſo much in the World,

World as his Ruine, and that they may be firſt to lay hands upon him for Revenge. This Man I ſay ſo broken within, and without, it is impoſſible that Her Majeſty and wiſe Council ſhould fear; I can never believe it. Or if it be ſo it is God's permiſſion without all donbt for Puniſhment of that his Wickedneſs and Sin, which is both rooted in, and reſted on him; ſo that when this Man ſhall perceive indeed they fear him, then will he handle them accordingly, and play the Bear indeed; which Inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent: And ſo I leave it to God and them, craving Pardon of my Lord of *Leiceſtr* for my boldneſs, if I have been too plain with him. And ſo I pray you let us go to Supper, for I ſee my Servant expecteth yonder at the Door of the Gallery to call us down.

To that (ſaid the Lawyer) I am content with all my heart, and I would it had been ſooner, for that I am afraid leaſt any by chance have over-heard us here ſince Night. For mine own part I muſt ſay, that I have not been at ſuch a Conference this ſeven years, or mean to be hereafter, if I may ſcape well with this; whereof I am ſure I ſhall dream this Fortnight; and think oftner of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, than ever I had intended, God amend him and me both. But if ever I hear at other hands of theſe matters hereafter, I ſhall ſurely be quack-breech, and think every Buſh a Boggle.

FINIS.